

Crowds seek an answer on streets of confusion

FROM MARY DEJEVSKY IN MOSCOW

NORMALITY and abnormality mixed on the streets of Moscow yesterday as news of the takeover filtered through and tanks and armoured personnel carriers took the city into their grip. What began as a warm summer's day, with people going about their business, turned hour by hour into a rain-soaked army camp.

From early morning, knots of worried people, a couple of hundred or so, gathered in places associated with "democratic" forces in Moscow: the gleaming white Russian Federation parliament building on the bank of the Moscow river, the redbrick city council building, and Manezh Square near the Kremlin wall, the traditional venue for radical demonstrations.

In the square, where police kept the crowd back until the troops arrived, one middle-aged woman said: "We have come here to defend democracy, to defend Yeltsin (Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation)." An elderly man chipped in: "I didn't know what to do, where to go. We just thought we'd come here. They need us." A younger woman, of Central Asian origin, said that Raisa Gorbachev, President Gorbachev's wife, was "getting her come-uppance". Immediately, she was shouted down. "Fancy talking about Raisa at a time like this. Raisa is neither here nor there. This is a matter of national importance and she is yapping about Raisa."

An hour later, empty buses blocked Manezh square and the city's transport system was paralysed. Riot troops guarded the entrances to Red Square. People were rushing around pasting flysheets to the lamp-posts with Mr Yeltsin's appeal to the peoples of Russia and his call for a general strike. Others stood on top of the buses, proclaiming the appeal through loudspeakers. With the independent Russian television and radio stations off the air, latter-day town criers came into their own.

On the square itself, where worried pedestrians strolled, a young man was painting on the tarmac in huge, white letters: "Bolshevik putschists should be put on trial. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union should be forced underground." Some onlookers laughed. Nobody stopped him, not even the police.

The Russian parliament building was guarded at each entrance by police armed with rifles. Armoured vehicles could be seen behind bushes at each corner. At 11.45, journalists were ushered inside - propelled through the crowd with good wishes and insistent requests for information by those outside. "Tell him," people shouted, "that we are here, and that we'll stay, whatever happens." As Mr

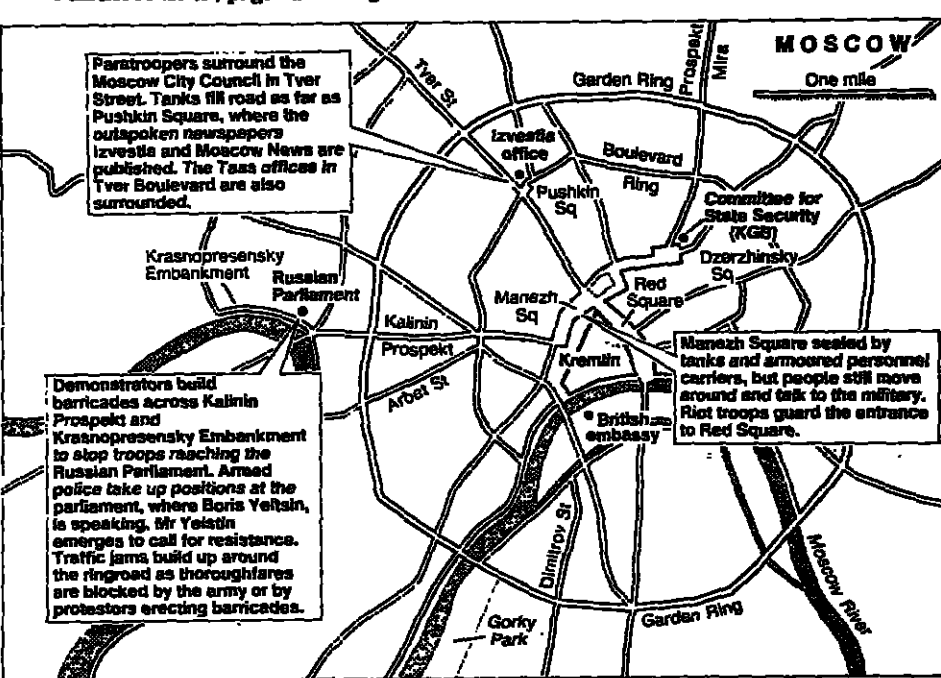
Yeltsin spoke inside, whispers around the parliament hall said that tanks were lining the embankment, that the building was cut off. Ending his statement with a wry smile, the Russian leader told the journalists: "Leave as fast as you can, save yourselves who can."

A few minutes later, when Mr Yeltsin, tall, solid and determined, strode out of the building alone towards the tank column, his devoted flock followed, extending a Russian tricolour and pressing him for words of reassurance. When he climbed on to the tank, opened the hatch and shook hands with those inside, they were beside themselves with adoration, but concerned for his safety. "He should have better protection," people whispered. "Boris Nikolayevich," someone shouted, amid the chants of "Yeltsin, Yeltsin, look after yourself, get yourself a taller bodyguard."

By early evening, the building was barricaded - apparently by the spontaneous action of the thousands-strong crowd. Mr Yeltsin's appeal to Moscowites to down tools and defend the Russian parliament had not gone unheeded.

Central state television on Sunday night had introduced a new programme, *Sunday*, devoted to culture and matters of the spirit. Those interviewed included a priest, an artist, an actor and a ballerina. Nikolai Gubenko, the Soviet culture minister and long-standing Gorbachev supporter - signed off, expressing the hope that *Sunday* would make the Monday that came after it seem brighter and more tolerable. "Here's to a happy Monday," he said in valediction.

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Ready and waiting: Soviet tanks take up position outside the Kremlin, near St Basil's cathedral, as Moscowites gather in the hope of news

TIMETABLE OF DOWNFALL

Report by Tass of ill health starts off momentous day

Timetable of yesterday's events in the Soviet Union:
4.00: Official news agency Tass reports that Gorbachev is unable to perform his duties for "health" reasons.
4.27: First Reuters newflash alerts the world to the news that Gennadi Yanayev has taken over as president.
5.00: Soviet citizens awake to news on Moscow Radio that a fatal danger is hanging over their country, which has become ungovernable. Solemn music broadcast every half hour.
6.00: Soviet TV announcer, wearing black suit and reading slowly from a prepared statement, announces a state of emergency to be enforced by a committee of hardline communists.
6.30: First official statement from Yanayev addressed to foreign heads of state issued.

All power is transferred to committee that is taking "temporary" measures to save the economy from ruin and to prevent civil conflict.
6.49: First sighting of military police in riot gear reported in outskirts of Moscow.
7.00: Soviet television reports that the State Emergency Committee has said that political adventurists had created moral terror.
8.30: Armoured personnel carriers move towards centre of Moscow. Up to 20 vehicles seen driving towards the Kremlin.
8.50: Leaders of Ukrainian parliament meet in emergency session in Kiev.
10.00: Emergency committee announces first of a series of decrees - clampdown on press and demonstrators.
10.30: Another decree announces reduction in food

prices and some increases in wages and pensions.
11.00: A dozen tanks outside Russian parliament building where a 5,000 strong crowd gathers shouting, "Fascism shall not triumph". More demonstrators form a human chain in Tver Street to prevent tanks going further. Armed troops surround Moscow's main broadcast tower at Ostankino.
Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation, stands on tank outside parliament building to read a statement calling on people to resist the coup. To cheers from the crowd he announces that strikes have begun in Leningrad and the Urals. Yeltsin says that Gorbachev has been detained in Pitsunda, the Black Sea resort where he has been on holiday, and calls for Gorbachev to be allowed to address the nation on television.
12.00: Troops surround the offices of Tass and the newspapers *Izvestia* and *Moscow News*. Demonstrators put yellow flowers in the barrels of tank guns. KGB police close down the independent radio station *Ekho Moskvy*.
13.00: Up to 2,000 demonstrators gather outside the Lithuanian parliament building. Leningrad city council announces a strike from Tuesday morning.
16.00: Yanayev tells a press conference in Moscow that Gorbachev might return to his duties once his illness is over.
16.30: Yeltsin calls on the army to oppose the new regime and not allow its hands to be "stained with the blood of the people". Barricades and road blocks are put around the parliament building, which is said to be guarded by police loyal to Yeltsin.

BALTIC MOVES

Vilnius has links with West severed

FROM ANATOL LIEVEN IN VILNIUS

IMMEDIATELY after the announcement of the coup in Moscow, Soviet troops seized the last remaining Lithuanian television and radio stations in the republic's second city, Kaunas. Later in the day, black berets moved to occupy the main telephone exchange in Vilnius, the capital, cutting the republic off from the West. Lines to the rest of the Soviet Union, however, remained open yesterday.

In a telephone call to Vytautas Landsbergis, the Lithuanian leader, General Fedor Kuzmin, the commander of the Baltic military region, said that he had been ordered to disarm Lithuanian national defence volunteer forces. In several towns, local Soviet commanders said that they had begun the administration of local states of emergency, and intensified military patrolling was reported.

In the Lithuanian port of Klaipeda, the military commander announced the closure of the sea, land and air frontiers. There has been no report of action to close the Polish frontier, or moves against Lithuanian border posts to other Soviet republics. In Vilnius, troops in armoured vehicles raided an apartment which they said belonged to a member of the Lithuanian national defence department, and removed a safe and personal possessions. Soon after the news of the coup broke in Vilnius, President Landsbergis made an appeal on the local Vilnius radio, the only one remaining in Lithuanian hands, for people to defend the parliament. Several hundred citizens were still gathered outside yesterday afternoon. It is understood that the government was waiting for signs of a more immediate threat to the parliament before it broadcast a mass appeal of the kind that brought tens of thousands of Lithuanians into the streets last January.

OPERA TALE Performers left airport as tanks rolled in

By KERRY GILL

THREE hundred members of the Bolshoi opera, its orchestra and chorus, arrived in Edinburgh yesterday having driven safely to Moscow's airport in the face of tanks, armoured vehicles and troops streaming into the city centre.

They arrived at Edinburgh only hours after the coup was announced. All expressed worry about their families and relatives but said that they were determined to return to Moscow on Monday after their performances at the Edinburgh festival.

Frank Dunlop, the festival director, greeted them with their foreign relations chief, Sergei Selivanov, who heard the news on his television at an Edinburgh hotel. Mr Selivanov, aged 63, said: "I was very shocked. I called my mother who said she was all right. She lives just outside Moscow but had been to the market. She said there was no one there. Usually it is crowded with people who come in from the country."

His mother had told him that tanks and troops were moving into the centre of Moscow. "I will be going back on Monday. I have to see my mother. The next few days will tell us more clearly what is happening," he added.

Viktor Sedov, a violinist with the opera, was one of the first off the plane. He said that military vehicles met their buses as they drove out of Moscow but did not stop them. "There was no time to understand what was happening, but there were people on the plane who were very shocked and worried about their families," he said.

Asked if any of the company would want to stay in the West, he said: "I would not like to leave my country for ever. It is nice to be in a foreign country as a visitor but I have my wife and two sons so I must return."

Nina Rautio, a soloist, said: "We will go back because we are awaited by relatives at home, but we are very worried. We are concerned at what might occur in our country and what we will see when we go back. We are worried about the fate of our children."

She added: "It is very sad what is happening. It is very difficult to forecast what will occur but we saw people smiling and still going to their work."

Vitaly Fomin, the Bolshoi's deputy director of opera, said: "We were really shocked but we did not have much information when we were leaving. We did not even have time to read the newspapers. We saw the streets were empty."

Mr Dunlop said he had spoken to the company before the members left Moscow. "They are all a bit shell-shocked. They do not want to say a lot because they are so unsure about what is happening at home," he added. "Whether they are right or left-wingers, they are worried about what might be going on at home."

'The country has become ungovernable ... salvation is in our own hands'

Fellow countrymen! Citizens of the Soviet Union! In a dark and critical hour for the destiny of our country and of our peoples, we address you! A mortal danger hangs over our great homeland!

The policy of reform initiated by M. S. Gorbachev, conceived as a means to ensure the dynamic development of the country and the democratisation of the life of its society, has, for a number of reasons, come to a dead end.

The original enthusiasm and hopes have been replaced by lack of belief, apathy and despair. Authority at all levels has lost the confidence of the population. Politicking has left no room in public life for concern for the fate of our country and of the citizen. Malicious mockery of all the institutions of the state is being implanted.

Creating an atmosphere of psychological and political terror and attempting to use the people's confidence as a screen, they forget that the ties being condemned and severed by them were established on the basis of far broader popular trust which, furthermore, has stood the test of many centuries of history.

Today, however, those who basically are working to overthrow the constitutional system must answer to mothers and fathers for the death of many hundreds of victims of inter-ethnic conflicts. On their conscience are the maimed lives of over half a million refugees. Thanks to them, life has lost its tranquillity and joy for tens of millions of Soviet people, who only yesterday were living in a united family but who today find themselves outcasts in their own home.

It is for the people to decide what kind of social system there is to be, but attempts are being made to deprive them of this right. Instead of concerning themselves with the security and well-being of each citizen and of the whole of society, those who find themselves in power not infrequently use that power in interests alien to the people, as a means of unprincipled self-assertion.

The spate of words and the mountains of declarations and promises only underline the poverty and wretchedness of their practical actions. The inflation of power, more terrible than any other, is tearing apart our state and our society. Every citizen feels a grow-

ing uncertainty about tomorrow and deep alarm for his children's future. The crisis of power has had a catastrophic effect on the economy. The chaotic and uncontrolled slide towards the market has aroused an explosion of egoism - regional, departmental, group and individual.

The war of laws and the encouragement of centrifugal trends has meant the destruction of the unified machinery of the national economy which has taken decades to evolve. The result has been a sharp decline in the standard of living of the great majority of Soviet people and the flourishing of speculation and the black economy.

It is high time to tell the people the truth: unless we take urgent and resolute measures to stabilise the economy, we shall inevitably face, in the very nearest future, famine and a new turn of the spiral of impoverishment, from which it is but a single step to mass manifestations of spontaneous discontent with devastating consequences.

Only irresponsible people can put their hope in some sort of help from abroad. No handouts will solve our problems. Our salvation is in our own hands. The time has come to measure the prestige of each person or organisation by their real contribution to the recovery and development of the national economy. For long years, we have been bearing on every side incantations about adherence to the interests of the individual and

This is the full text of an appeal from the new leadership to the Soviet people, broadcast by Moscow Radio and carried by Tass

concern for his rights and social protection. Yet in fact, the human being has found himself degraded, encroached upon in his real rights and opportunities, and driven to despair.

All democratic institutions, created by the will of the people, are losing before our very eyes their weight and efficiency. This is the result of deliberate actions by those who, flagrantly trampling upon the basic law of the USSR, are in fact carrying out an anti-constitutional coup and reaching out towards an unbridled personal dictatorship.

Prefectures, mayoralities, and other illegal structures are replacing in an increasingly arbitrary way the soviets elected by the people. An attack on the rights of working people is under way. The right to work, to education, to health, housing and rest have been jeopardised. Even the elementary personal security of people is coming under threat more and more.

Millions of people are demanding the adoption of measures against the octopus of crime and scandalous immorality. The deepening destabilisation of the political and economic situation in the Soviet Union is undermining our position in the world.

Revanchist notes have been heard in some places, demands are being put forward for the review of our borders. Voices are even being heard calling for the dismantling of the Soviet Union and the possibility of establishing international guardianship of individual facilities and areas of the country.

Such is the bitter reality. Only yesterday, the Soviet person who was abroad felt himself to be a worthy citizen of an influential and respected state. Now he is often a second-class foreigner, the treatment of whom bears the seal of disdain or pity. The pride and honour of the Soviet person must be restored fully.

The State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR is fully aware of the depth of the crisis afflicting our country. It takes upon itself responsibility for the fate of the motherland and is fully determined to adopt the most serious measures to lead the

state and society out of the crisis as quickly as possible.

We promise to conduct a broad, nationwide debate on the draft of the new Union Treaty. Everyone will have the right and opportunity to analyse this extremely important document in a calm atmosphere and to decide where they stand on it, since the fate of numerous peoples in our great motherland will depend on what becomes of the union.

We intend to restore without delay legality, law and order, to put an end to bloodshed, to declare a merciless war on the criminal world, and to root out shameful manifestations which discredit our society and humiliate Soviet citizens. We will cleanse the streets of our cities of criminal elements and put an end to the tyranny of those who plunder the people's assets.

We stand for truly democratic processes, for a consistent policy of reform, leading to a renewal of our motherland, to its economic and social prosperity, which will make it possible for it to occupy a worthy place in the world community of nations.

The country's development must not be based on a fall in the population's living standard. A steady increase in the well-being of all citizens will become the norm in a healthy society. Without slackening our concern for the strengthening and protection of individual rights, we shall concentrate attention on defending the interests of the broadest layers of the popula-

tion, those who have been hurt most by inflation, the disorganisation of production, corruption and crime.

Developing the mixed character of the national economy, we will also support private enterprise, granting it the necessary opportunities for developing production and the sphere of services. Our primary concern will be solution of the food and housing problems. All available forces will be mobilised to satisfy these most pressing requirements of the people.

We call on workers, peasants, the labour intelligentsia and all Soviet people to restore labour discipline and order in the shortest period of time, raise the level of production and consequently move forward decisively. Our life and the future of our children and grandchildren and the fate of the fatherland depend on this.

We are a peace-loving country and will firmly adhere to all obligations we have undertaken. We have no claims against anyone. We wish to live with all in peace and friendship. But we firmly declare that encroachment on our sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity will not be permitted at any time or by anyone. All attempts to speak to our country in the language of dictat, no matter from where they originate, will be resolutely suppressed.

Our multi-ethnic people have lived for ages full of pride for their motherland. We

never felt shame for our patriotic feelings and consider it natural and lawful to bring up the current and future generations of citizens of our great power in this spirit.

To be inactive at this hour, which is so critical for the fate of the fatherland, would mean to accept the heavy responsibility for the tragic and truly unpredictable consequences.

Everyone for whom our motherland is dear, who wants to live and labour in a situation of tranquillity and confidence, who finds continuing bloody inter-ethnic conflicts unacceptable, and who sees his fatherland independent and prosperous in the future, must make the only correct choice.

We appeal to all genuine patriots, people of goodwill to put an end to the current time of turmoil. We appeal to all citizens of the Soviet Union to recognise their duty before the motherland and extend all possible support to the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR and efforts to lead the country out of the crisis.

Constructive proposals of public and political organisations, labour collectives, and citizens will be gratefully received as an expression of their patriotic readiness to actively participate in the restoration of the age-old friendship in the united family of fraternal peoples and revival of the fatherland.

The State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR, August 18, 1991.

Republic treaty proves the final straw for hardliners

The writing has been on the wall for Mikhail Gorbachev for more than a year. Geoffrey Hosking analyses the events leading to his dramatic fall

MUCH against the consensus of my colleagues, I used to say that there could well be a military coup in the Soviet Union. I stopped doing so about nine months ago, as I felt that political changes had reached a point where such a coup would cause serious bloodshed with little chance of attaining its objectives, and that this would be apparent to its potential promoters. Yet a military coup is exactly what has taken place.

Last year, however, the Soyuz (Union) group of deputies was formed in the

Supreme Soviet in reaction to the growing parliamentary weight of the radicals headed by Boris Yeltsin. The mounting economic and ethnic crisis during 1990 provoked Soyuz into raising its political profile towards the end of the year, having persuaded President Gorbachev to drop his contemplated radical economic reform and to appoint Valentin Pavlov as prime minister and Boris Pugo as interior minister — two key members of the new emergency regime.

In January this year, in-

terior ministry (Omon) special troops attacked public buildings in the Baltic region, action intended to be the first stage in the establishment of a committee of national salvation to reintegrate the Baltic republics into the Soviet Union and then to impose its will throughout the country. Since the Baltic peoples made it clear that this programme could only be implemented over a good many of their dead bodies, Mr Gorbachev aborted it. Instead, he set about trying to hold the country together by persuading its republics to sign a new Union Treaty.

The successive drafts of this treaty were rejected out of hand as too centralist by the governments of the Baltic republics, Moldavia,

Armenia and Georgia. The Soyuz group, though, was concerned that Mr Gorbachev was selling out to the separatist ambitions of populist ethnic politicians and thereby endangering an empire which has existed for centuries.

After a congress in April, Soyuz recommended calling a special session of the Soviet Congress of People's Deputies to demand Mr Gorbachev's resignation and the declaration of a state of emergency. Yuri Blokhin, a Russian Soyuz leader from Moldavia, remarked at that stage that "if the president is unable to fulfil his constitutional duty, then Soyuz is ready to take the full responsibility upon itself". Presumably this implied it was prepared to give parliament-

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GORBACHEV-REMOVAL

URGENT--YANAYEV: GORBACHEV UNABLE TO PERFORM DUTIES.

19/8 TASS A-12

MOSCOW AUGUST 19 TASS - VICE-PRESIDENT GENNADY YANAYEV HAS TAKEN OVER THE DUTIES OF USSR PRESIDENT FROM AUGUST 19, 1991 IN KEEPING WITH ARTICLE 127, CLAUSE 7 OF THE SOVIET CONSTITUTION DUE TO MIKHAIL GORBACHEV'S INABILITY TO PERFORM HIS DUTIES FOR HEALTH REASONS, SAYS A DECREE BY VICE-PRESIDENT YANAYEV CIRCULATED HERE TODAY.

ITEM ENDS 190620 A00 91

Kremlin diagnosis: how Tass announced the Gorbachev removal yesterday

the Soviet Communist party, is also under threat.

In the Soviet heartlands — Russia, Ukraine, Belorussia — although seriously damaged, the party has continued to carry out most of its old functions in many areas, acting as power broker between rival groups, keeping the old centrally admin-

istered rump of the economy going, while trying to ensure that party officials move into as many of the new private firms as possible.

Now even these residual functions are jeopardised by two recent developments. The long-awaited split among the party leaders is fast becoming a reality, with

some announcing their intention of forming a Movement of Democratic Reform, though it is not clear whether this will be inside the party, outside it, or half in and half out.

It seems certain that at the elections which were supposed to follow the Union Treaty, the movement was intending to put forward a platform separate from that of the Communist party. That Mr Gorbachev more or less publicly supported the movement must have sealed his fate.

Geoffrey Hosking is professor of Russian history at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, London University, and 1988 Reith Lecturer on the rediscovery of politics in the Soviet Union.

THE MILITARY

Key players had action plan ready for months

By MICHAEL EVANS, DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

THE OVERTHROW of President Gorbachev was the last stand by the Soviet military hierarchy, increasingly alarmed by the headlong decline in the country's economic and social fortunes, and angered by the army's diminished status in society. While not wanting political power for themselves, senior Soviet army commanders will have played a crucial role in the preparations for yesterday's coup.

As previously in the Soviet Union's history, radical reform of the armed forces has led to a hardline backlash. In the 1950s and 1960s cuts in the Soviet armed forces played a decisive role in the overthrow of Nikita Khrushchev in October 1964. Marshal Dmitri Yazov, the defence minister, is a member of the new Committee for the State of Emergency. But his will be a figurehead role. The operational muscle behind the new edicts rests with a handful of key officers, not all of whom could be described as natural hardliners, yet each prepared to back the coup because of what they saw as the growing threat to the stability of the Soviet Union.

Richard Woff, editor of *Jane's Soviet High Command* and a member of the Soviet studies centre at Sandhurst military academy, expressed little surprise at yesterday's dramatic events in the Soviet Union. He said General Mikhail Moiseyev, the chief of the general staff, would have had the necessary plans ready for months. His involvement was essential because of the role the general staff plays in mobilising troops. "Moiseyev and the general staff must be implicated," Mr Woff said.

Apart from General Moiseyev, there are a number of important military figures both in the defence ministry and ministry of internal affairs who will have played their

part in ensuring the end of the Gorbachev era. One vital development in the past two years has been the gradual influx of professional army units into the interior ministry troop structures. Key to this change was the appointment of Colonel-General Boris Gromov, as first deputy minister of internal affairs. General Gromov, aged 47 and a hero of the Afghan war, is in charge of the interior ministry troops, although they are commanded by Colonel-General Yuri Shatalin. The reinforced ministry troops will play a very significant role in suppressing anti-government activities.

"Although he is not a political hardliner, Gromov is a professional hardliner and a Russian nationalist," Mr Woff said. "He would support the military view that the politicians have messed up the country."

General Gromov's boss, Colonel-General Boris Pugo, the minister of internal affairs, is a hardline party bureaucrat and a former senior KGB official. He has strengthened links with the KGB and toughened the image of the interior ministry. Both will have been firm supporters of the coup.

Other key players will have been Army General Valentin Varennikov, the deputy minister of defence and commander-in-chief of ground forces, a noted hardliner; and Lieutenant-General Mikhail Surkov, the secretary of the all-army party committee from the main military political directorate, described by Mr Woff as "a rising star of the stern, unbending conservatives and an outspoken critic of Gorbachev."

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Hardline of power: Aleksandr Tizyakov, left, Vasili Starodubov, Boris Pugo, Gennadi Yanayev, and Oleg Baklanov at a press conference in Moscow yesterday

KREMLIN CHANGE OF GUARD

Anger and suspicion motivate coup engineers

By BRUCE CLARK, MOSCOW CORRESPONDENT, AND MICHAEL BINYON, DIPLOMATIC EDITOR

THE eight new men who have taken command in the Soviet Union are relatively unknown to the outside world, many having only been in their current jobs a year or so. They represent the classic stereotypes of the Soviet hardliners — men who have not come to terms with the ending of the Cold War, who are intensely suspicious of the West, angry at Soviet loss of influence in the world, the lack of authority in Soviet society and at President Gorbachev's vacillating leadership.

Gennadi Yanayev, a life-long Communist party apparatchik, aged 54, elected vice-president by the Congress of People's Deputies last December in compromise forced on Mr Gorbachev by hardliners. Previously he had been head of the official trade union movement and a conservative on economic reform. His appointment in December was greeted with intense dismay by centrists and reformers, and radicals alleged that the vote in the People's Congress was falsely counted. He

described himself as "profoundly Communist" after being elected.

Valentin Pavlov, aged 53. Before becoming prime minister was a bureaucrat involved with public finances, culminating as finance minister, when he tried and failed to cope with ballooning budget deficit. His reputation in Western circles plunged earlier this year when he made the bizarre allegation that Western bankers were plotting to overthrow Mr Gorbachev by flooding the country with surplus roubles and causing hyperinflation. Two months ago Pavlov tried to stage a sort of parliamentary coup against Gorbachev by demanding extra powers for himself — a bid which was narrowly foiled.

Boris Pugo: seen by many as the most sinister figure in the Soviet leadership, his appointment last December as interior minister to replace the liberal Oleg Baklanov was one of the first indications of the sharp swing to the right that took place last winter. Aged 53, a former chief of the

Lithuanian KGB, and is widely seen as a mastermind of the crackdown in his native border region last January. Although he denies it, he is also widely blamed for fomenting the atrocities committed by the "Omron" black beret special police forces.

Dmitri Yazov: aged 67, is firmly in the tradition of Soviet army officers and senior communists, seen as relatively loyal to Gorbachev. He presumably shared the deep unhappiness of many Soviet army officers over the haste with which Soviet troops were being withdrawn from Eastern Europe. During last January's Lithuania events he defended the army's behaviour on grounds that the Landsbergis government was trying to bring in a "bourgeois" regime. Like all senior officers, he was presumably disgusted by the way in which the government of the small breakaway republics described the Soviet army as an occupation force and discouraged local youths from obeying conscription orders. He had

embraced only the mildest and most cautious of formulae for switching to an all-professional army, and was notably lukewarm over German reunification and the prospects for the Vienna arms talks last year. In the run-up to the Gulf war he called Saddam Hussein a rascal, but presumably shared the unhappiness of the rest of the Soviet establishment over the punishing which the allies meted out to Iraq's Soviet-supplied army.

Vladimir Kryuchkov, of all the Soviet leadership, the KGB chief, aged 67, has probably made the least pretence of being loyal to Mr Gorbachev. He repeatedly expressed views on East-West relations that were diametrically opposed to those of the Soviet leader, essentially insisting that the United States remained a hostile power of whom Moscow should be highly suspicious. In a dramatic television broadcast last December, he warned of a nationwide crackdown on radicals and nationalists, saying

that the future of the Soviet Union as a country was in doubt. He also accused Western governments of conspiring to damage the Soviet Union under a cloak of assistance.

Senior KGB officers like former general Oleg Kalugin, who is now a radical deputy, describe Kryuchkov as a paranoid and ruthless cold warrior. He was an example of how closely intertwined the senior leadership of the KGB has always been with that of the Communist party — as a career apparatchik who only late in life switched over to full-time work in the leadership of the intelligence service. Under his leadership, the KGB has been forced to come to terms with glasnost — even allowing foreign journalists to tour its headquarters. It has also tried to portray itself as an agency devoted to investigating and fighting serious crime, rather than a sinister brother spying on ordinary citizens. But few Russians have been convinced by this new propaganda image.

Oleg Baklanov: the Soviet

Communist party secretary in charge of the defence industry, is the most shadowy of the senior figures who signed yesterday's decree. He has seen his influence over the military-industrial complex decline sharply as the party was edged out of power. Recently he has held little more than a sinecure position and can be assumed to be bitter about his loss of authority.

Vasili Starodubov: another signatory who is equally unknown outside the country: the chairman of the Soviet farmers' union, who has promoted his conservative views on how farming should be organised. He is seen as a supporter of the old collective farms and voice of the farm chairmen who wielded almost total control over the countryside. He opposes moves to give more independence to smallholders.

Aleksandr Tizyakov: the final signatory, president of the association of state enterprises and industrial, construction, transport and communications facilities.

YELTSIN'S CHALLENGE

Towering leader wears mantle of resistance

By RICHARD OWEN

IN THE latest edition of his autobiography, *Against the Grain*, Boris Yeltsin writes: "I am the legally elected leader of the largest Soviet republic. Yet I go to bed not knowing what I shall wake up to in the morning. Maybe the Russian TV centre will be seized during the night, maybe tanks, APCs and special troops will fill the streets..."

Yesterday, as this grim prophecy came true, all eyes in the Soviet Union turned to the towering figure of Mr Yeltsin, with Russians expecting him to act. They were not disappointed. Unlike other, lesser figures, Mr Yeltsin was not arrested; no doubt the authorities feared the reaction from his millions of passionately loyal followers.

The new Soviet leaders have apparently calculated they can ride out a wave of support for Mr Yeltsin, or perhaps detain him later. If so, this is a dangerous gamble. Mr Yeltsin has reached the pinnacle of power in the Russian Federation by being unpredictable and unconventional. He has a reputation for being a buffoon, with a propensity for falling in the Moscow River while drunk.



Street fighter: Boris Yeltsin standing on a tank in Moscow yesterday to denounce the coup

But Russians take him very seriously indeed.

Despite, or perhaps because of, his impulsive nature and touch of demagoguery, he is hugely popular. The coup leaders, knowing they have the military muscle, may ask mockingly — as Stalin is said

to have once asked of the Pope — "how many divisions has Yeltsin?" But the power of the street has moved Russian history before.

Above all, Mr Yeltsin — a former Communist Moscow city boss and politburo member until forced out in 1987 —

is the only Soviet leader with a popular mandate. He was elected president by Russian MPs a year ago, in the face of opposition from Mikhail Gorbachev, and this June swept to power with a 60 per cent majority in popular elections. His swearing-in at the

Kremlin last month was full of traditional Russian pomp and ceremony, with Mr Yeltsin declaring that "great Russia is rising from its knees".

The Russian republic Mr Yeltsin controls has a population of 145 million, spread over three-quarters of the Soviet Union's territory, with crucial resources. Much of Mr Yeltsin's time in office has been spent in a struggle with the central authorities in Moscow over who controls crucial sectors. The rest of his energy has gone into reaching a *modus vivendi* with Mr Gorbachev, his longstanding rival, both over a programme for pluralism and market forces and over the new relationship between Moscow and the republics. The resulting union treaty, loosening central control, was to have been signed yesterday. Yesterday Mr Yeltsin was consulting like-minded republican leaders such as Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan on the next moves.

The crucial factor in the next few days will be how far Russian (as opposed to Soviet) organisations and interest groups have come to see themselves as loyal to Mr Yeltsin rather than to the central authorities.

PAVLOV'S RISE

Sycophancy and spite mark climb to the top

VALENTIN Pavlov, the Soviet prime minister at the heart of the "octet" who have seized control from Mikhail Gorbachev, is a prime specimen of a Soviet political Neanderthal.

A short, fat man of peasant stock, he exhibits the classic *apparatchik's* attitude towards the West: a mixture of sycophancy and spite. He has a tendency to fawn on Western businessmen, sharing their champagne and caviar and treating his high office as an excuse to show off to his wife, a jolly, dumpy woman with the old-style peasant spouse's taste for frumpy, flowery frocks, rather than Raisa Gorbachev's classy couture.

Mr Pavlov rose to prominence with the meteoric speed of all the grey men who followed the fallout as the true stars of the Gorbachev era opted for opposition. He rose to the position of finance minister largely through negligence on the part of Mr Gorbachev, who was already preparing to transform the nature of Soviet govern-

An apparatchik who fell upwards into his post, the premier has opted for the base line of politics, argues Peter Millar

ment. He is a communist of the worst sort in that he believes in the triumph of the lowest common denominator, because he is so close to it himself.

He was never intended to become prime minister. He fell upwards into the job through the premature political demise of his predecessor, Nikolai Ryzhkov, who flustered and panicked his way out of office, falling victim in the end to the only recorded genuine case of retirement through ill-health, after a heart attack.

Mr Pavlov showed his true intellectual and political colours last spring when he tried to explain away the reasoning behind the half-cocked withdrawal from circulation of 50-rouble and 100-rouble notes. This amateur at-

tempt to curb speculators succeeded only in causing vast hardship to hundreds of thousands of ordinary Russians who had tucked away their savings under mattresses rather than trust their banks.

Mr Pavlov himself was the prime culprit, having planned the measure as finance minister and executed it as premier. But he preferred to blame the chaos it caused on a plot by the CIA and Western banks to destabilise the Soviet currency. It was a curious irony at a time when Western financiers were trying to work out means to help Mr Gorbachev stabilise the rouble: its worthlessness was the result of the policies of Mr Pavlov and his predecessors in printing notes without reserves.

The junta's offer to raise wages and freeze prices is more of the same, a knee-jerk reaction that will only worsen the Kremlin's economic plight. Mr Pavlov has lived up to the reputation of his scientist namesake's dog: a living proof of the conditioned reflex.

Dispatch of friend and statesman dazes Bush

From Peter Stothard, US Editor, in Washington

PRESIDENT Bush's first reaction to the fall of Mikhail Gorbachev was dazed, like that of a man who knows he has lost his wife but still hopes against hope that she might return from the dead. As the tanks stretched out across Moscow, he told reporters at his Kennebunkport holiday home that "coups can fail: they can run up against the will of the people".

Mr Bush was obviously not enjoying his powerlessness. He tried to make the best of it but the reality was that he had almost no role in the Moscow drama beyond being the friend of the former star.

The new Soviet president had met him at Moscow airport before last month's summit but on that occasion Mr Yanayev had been merely the man with the bouquet of pink roses. The real leaders of the coup had played even less part in the talks and celebrations. "It may be back to square one now," a shocked State Department official said.

During the early days of his presidency Mr Bush and his advisers had grown used to surprise initiatives from the architect of perestroika. But there had been no surprise like his ousting. And there was nothing that anyone could do.

The inquest into "who lost Gorbachev" is only just beginning. For months the official message in Washington has been that American policy towards the Soviet Union does not depend on the fate of any one man. Progress in Moscow towards economic and political reform was deemed "irreversible" by senior diplomats.

Now these confident assess-

ments will be put to the test. Mr Gorbachev was the one man in Soviet political life with whom the American government shared the bare modicum of trust needed for international relations. He and Mr Bush had built on their bizarre first summit in storm-tossed Malta to form an easy relationship which made increasingly frequent use of the telephone. His departure, although variously predicted over the past six years by liberals and conservatives alike, is a severe blow to President Bush's hopes of superpower co-operation, the "new world order" and even to his own political record.

Heavy rain in Kennebunkport, swirling in from the edges of a hurricane, provided a suitably miserable backdrop for advisers to ask themselves if they could have made a difference. Mr Bush and National Security Adviser, Brent Scowcroft, were up at 3am reviewing the grim events before they met the press.

Special attention has been focused in the past few days on the president's speech in Kiev three weeks ago. This had been intended to help Mr Gorbachev against his hard-line critics by warning rebel republics against "suicidal nationalism". But, instead, diplomats reported that its lecturing tone on the virtues of the American constitution had angered the hardliners who led yesterday's coup.

As officials examined the reaction to the summit and the G7 which preceded it, the initial conclusion was that nothing would have made much difference. Would Mr Gorbachev have survived any longer if he had been given the large sums of money which Chancellor Kohl and others were suggesting in London? Unlikely, said Washington Sovietologists.

Mr Gorbachev, who began his career as a beguiling Western leader with Mrs Thatcher in 1984 and turned his charms on Ronald Reagan a year later, has come to seem like a permanent fixture to the American public. But he was never seen as such a sure bet by the government here, even if, for as long as he maintained power and offered the prospect of peaceful political change, he was judged to be worth encouraging.

From the beginning it had suited both Mr Reagan and Mr Bush to make Mr Gorbachev a partner with whom they could personally conduct business. President Reagan shared five encounters with the Soviet leader - from the first, in Geneva six years ago, when they agreed not to waste time "swapping banalities", to the final almost sentimental meeting in New York, just before Mr Gorbachev dropped one of his arms reduction surprises before the United Nations in 1988.

Both Mr Reagan and Mr Bush believed that personal chemistry was important, particularly when there was so little other basis for trust. When the opening session at Geneva lasted four times longer than scheduled and continued to the famous fire-side chat by a pool, the coldest days of the Cold War seemed over. At the end, although specific progress was small, Mr Reagan whispered to his fellow summiters: "I bet the hardliners in both our countries are bleeding when we shake hands." Mr Gorbachev nodded assent.

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M Mitterrand and Mr Gorbachev at Orly airport, Paris, in October 1985



Mr Gorbachev with Brian Mulroney, the Canadian prime minister, in Ottawa last year



Ronald Reagan, then the American president, welcoming Mr Gorbachev to Washington at a ceremony with full military honours before their second summit meeting in December 1987



Mr Gorbachev being received by Emperor Akihito at the start of his visit to Japan last April. The Soviet leader failed to obtain economic aid or to resolve the dispute over the Kurile Islands



The Pope and President Gorbachev in close conversation at their historic meeting at the Vatican on December 1, 1989



A beaming President Castro embracing Mr Gorbachev at the start of his three-day official visit to Cuba on April 2, 1989

EASTERN GERMANY

Berlin pledges never to forget 'dear Gorby'

From Anne McElvoy in Berlin

EASTERN Germany yesterday mourned the political passing of the Soviet leader whose reforms engendered the fall of their old communist regime and who gave speedy blessing to the unification of Germany.

The former communist leader, Egon Krenz, said that he was "deeply shocked and concerned" by the news and praised President Gorbachev as "a man who has left traces in European history which will never be rubbed out."

Herr Krenz, who belatedly tried to introduce perestroika-type reforms into East Germany when he replaced Erich Honecker in October 1989, added: "Mikhail Gorbachov

was a true friend to the German people, East and West, and the father of change in Eastern Europe."

Outside the Humboldt university, students gathered with banners protesting at the "Rebirth of stalinism". Another read: "Dear Gorby, you brought us our freedom. We will never forget you."

In yesterday's prayer service at the Nikolaikirche in Leipzig, where the peaceful demonstrations which led to the fall of the regime began, the congregation was asked to "remember with gratitude the debt of freedom we owe to the Soviet leader." Mr Gorbachev's popularity in eastern Germany has never been

deated. In a state which whose very existence was conceived in Moscow, the population was taught to look to Moscow for guidance. This compulsory dependence on the Soviet Union for political inspiration took on new meaning when Mr Gorbachev came to power. Herr Honecker, was quick to realise the danger that Mr Gorbachev posed to him and nipped any hopes of home-grown reforms in the bud. His ideology chief, Kurt Hager, summarised the official line with the cynical response: "Just because your neighbour changes his wallpaper, it does not mean that you have to start tearing down your own."

During the Soviet leader's first visit in 1986, the security forces cordoned off the route to prevent a public show of enthusiasm for his reforms. When he arrived for the East German state's 40th birthday celebrations in October 1989 they could no longer hold back the crowds. Thousands marched to the People's Chamber shouting "Gorby, Gorby". He implicitly encouraged the protest by waving at the demonstrators and warning Herr Honecker: "Time punishes those who come too late."

Herr Honecker, who has now fled to the Soviet Union, has made no secret of the fact that he blames the Soviet reforms for unleashing the

unwelcome changes in Eastern Europe, and is likely to view the coup with belated satisfaction.

The Berlin Institute for Applied Economic Research, which monitors developments in the eastern region, said that the developments in Moscow "bring back very black memories for us."

But the headline former chief commentator of East Germany, Karl Eduard von Schintzler, had no sympathy to waste on the ousted Soviet leader. "He has given our socialist Germany back to imperialist capitalism for 30 pieces of Bonn's silver. I see no reason to mourn," he said.

POLAND

Caviar traders retreat to the barracks

From Roger Boyes in Warsaw

THE traders on Poland's street markets noticed first that something was afoot: there were none of the usual off-duty Soviet soldiers trying to hawk their belt buckles, no corrupt quartermasters selling caviar. Leave from Soviet barracks has been cancelled since Thursday. Suddenly the sloppy garrison in Rembertow, near Warsaw, is on alert, bristling with guards.

As the Soviet army has been travelling home in its long, sluggish night trains, so it has become obvious to East Europeans that the Soviet generals were reaching breaking point. The commander of the Soviet army northern group, General Viktor Dobinin, counts as a new generation officer capable of keeping up with perestroika. Yet in a recent outburst against Poles he revealed the depth of the army's humiliation: "How dare the Poles treat our soldiers as occupying troops or international criminals? How dare they try to deport us from Polish territory like prisoners of war, in sealed freight trains without our weapons?"

This discontent has reached the very top of Soviet politics. On July 1, the Soviet vice-president, Gennadi Yanayev - the de facto head of state while Mr Gorbachev is under arrest - presided over the funeral of the Warsaw Pact and resisted suggestions that the Eastern military alliance had failed. "The indisputable fact remains that it made a substantial contribution to peace and stability."

The need to mollify the military was clearly understood in the Russian presidential elections. Boris Yeltsin chose Colonel Aleksandr Rutskoy, the leader of Communists for Democracy, as his running mate, while a neo-stalinist general presented himself as a rival candidate. None of these concessions has dulled the pain of the army. There have been so many humiliations, starting from the defeat in Afghanistan, the strained budget, draft defiance by conscripts in the Baltic republics, conventional troop cuts, the loss of East Germany, the social problems of resettling the troops chased out of Eastern Europe, the strategic arms treaty. These setbacks do not have equal weight.

The biographical details of the general staff suggest their experience and political interests: overwhelmingly they have served in East Germany and in the Kiev military district. They are frontline commanders without a frontline. Their priorities are clear - to hold the union together, to bring the Baltic republics to order and ensure a security zone around the Soviet Union's western borders. This is an essentially hardline agenda.

Lower down the hierarchy there are Afghanistans veterans, such as General Dubinin, who are sceptical about all politicians, hardline or reformist, and want merely to preserve the integrity of their institution. These officers have broadly understood the foreign policy and strategic objectives of the Gorbachev era. But they share with the older generals a sense of disgust at the over-speedy retreat from Eastern Europe.

The army's mission has been changing without sufficient preparation. Increasingly its political role has been to defend the political order - in effect, unpopular police work in the Baltic and Transcaucasian republics. The natural reaction of officers faced with these new and often unpleasant tasks is to blame the political leadership for their inability to solve crises by political means.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Indian left welcomes removal

Delhi - India's biggest Communist party, a frequent critic of Mikhail Gorbachev's reforms, shed no tears at his removal yesterday. "Significant and major political developments have taken place in the USSR," the Communist Party of India (Marxist) said in a brief statement.

"The politburo of the CPI (M) hopes the USSR will overcome the present crisis, defend the unity and integrity of the Soviet Union and continue to advance on the path of socialism," the party said.

Officials expected a main beneficiary to be Cuba, which had refused to change its old-line Communist ways despite cuts in Soviet aid. (Reuters)

Hawke warning

Canberra - The overthrow of Mr Gorbachev will prove tragic if results of his foreign policy are reversed, Bob Hawke, Australia's prime minister, said. Mr Gorbachev had been the victim of a conservative coup that the world would judge harshly. (Reuters)

Bolger fears

Wellington - Jim Bolger, the New Zealand prime minister, said that events in the Soviet Union could destabilise the world economically and politically. (Reuters)

Mongolia alert

Peking - Mongolia, the former Soviet satellite moving towards democracy, was carefully studying the situation in the Soviet Union, the foreign ministry said. Last week, its spokesman, Terbishin Chimiddorj, said that "everything that happens in the Soviet Union today may be repeated in Mongolia". (AFP)

Romanian hope

Bucharest - Romania's ruling National Salvation Front, in a statement on the Soviet Union, said that it "hopes that the democratisation and reform process will continue". (Reuters)

Gadafi praise

Nicosia - The Libyan leader, Muammar Gaddafi, said Gennadi Yanayev's ousting of Mr Gorbachev was a magnificent act that would restore Moscow's prestige. (Reuters)

Kremlin mask of ritual hid face of revolution

From Charles Bremner in New York

IF THEY had been betting types, few of those who stood in the white and gold chamber of St George in the Kremlin on a snowy March day six years ago, would have risked a penny on the notion that Mikhail Gorbachev, the new general secretary of the Communist party, was about to embark on revolution.

The stocky man in the blue suit and crepe-soled shoes had just come in from the Lenin mausoleum where he had presided over the obsequies to Konstantin Chernenko, the latest in the line of the Soviet gerontocracy.

He was vigorous, at 54, the youngest Soviet leader since Lenin, and he had charmed Mrs Thatcher and the West with his forthright style and lack of cant. However, as he

stood in a receiving line with Andrei Gromyko, the foreign minister, and Nikolai Tikhonov, the premier, the smart diplomatic money saw Mr Gorbachev as at best a progressive version of the old apparatchik.

"The general-secretary is dead. Long live the general-secretary," quipped one old Moscow hand among the gaggle of reporters admitted to witness the procession of visiting statesmen. In a ritual already performed twice in the previous four years, they trooped by to have their hands pumped and make their first assessment of the new Kremlin boss.

Leading the laying on of hands in the grand tsarist hall was Rajiv Gandhi, the late Indian prime minister. Vice-president George Bush strode up, followed soon by President Mitterrand, who confided that evening that "it would be a mistake to say that the

advent of a new leader could bring about profound changes in the politics of the Soviet Union". The same line was being shovelled back to governments in embassy telegrams, drafted by professionals schooled in the monumental inertia of the Soviet state. Some jaded British diplomats allowed themselves a raised eyebrow over Mrs Thatcher's enthusiasm for the man with whom she believed the world could do business.

"Gorby" was certainly personable and intent on reforming a sclerotic economy, but the Westerners remembered that he had proclaimed to his people that communism "will prove its advantages by force of example in all fields of society's life, economic, political and spiritual". The words were a quote from Yuri Andropov, the late leader, KGB boss and his mentor. Few had noticed

that, in one of those breaks from tradition beloved of the old-school Kremlinologists, no military leaders had accompanied Mr Gorbachev on the mausoleum at Chernenko's rather perfunctory funeral.

It is perhaps too easy, looking back, to mock the myopia of the professional Russia-watchers. That was all before Mr Gorbachev dumped his old rivals in the politburo, before Chernobyl, glasnost, the Berlin Wall and the Gulf alliance. Back in March, 1985, the grim old apparatus fashioned by Stalin still held absolute sway over every aspect of life. Andrei Sakharov was in exile and critics were rare enough to be described as dissidents. Apathy reigned and the intelligentsia mocked their leaders in private, but no one imagined the party leader would dismantle his own pillars of power.

CHRONOLOGY

Steps in rise and fall of brave reformer

Events that shaped Mr Gorbachev's career:
1960 - Appointed first secretary of Stavropol Kom-somol youth league.
1966 - Promoted to head local party organization.
1971 - Becomes deputy of the nation's Supreme Soviet.
1978 - Central committee agriculture secretary.
1979 - Non-voting member of Brezhnev politburo.
1985 - General secretary of Communist party. Meets President Reagan in Geneva.
1986 - Launches glasnost and perestroika. Fires dissident Dr Andrei Sakharov.
1987 - Signs treaty eliminat-

ing medium-range nuclear missiles.
1988 - Calls first Communist party conference since Stalin. Presides over dissolution of Supreme Soviet.
1989 - Withdraws Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Elected president.
1990 - Ends Communist party's monopoly on power. Wins Nobel peace prize for ending Cold War.
1991 - New Union Treaty. August - Alexander Yakovlev resigns as top aide and quits party, warning of planned coup. Yesterday - Coup is accomplished.

كشافة



Ages of party man: from Stavropol childhood, left, through his teens and student years at Moscow university, to his 1954 marriage to Raisa, and appointment as central committee chairman in 1980. Gorbachev's stature grew rapidly

Reform unleashed the turmoil that engulfed leader

MIKHAIL Gorbachev, the man from Stavropol, leaves his legacy as a country and a world transformed by his six years in power. No peacetime leader this century has so changed the alliances, expectations and hopes of the globe. No Soviet leader has ever done as much to bring liberty, democracy and free expression to his country.

A Nobel prize in 1990 recognised his role in promoting world peace: pulling Soviet troops out of Afghanistan, permitting the liberation of Eastern Europe and the reunification of Germany, negotiating arms agreements, ending the long quarrel with China, reinvigorating the United Nations and bringing the Soviet Union back into the mainstream of international life.

Mr Gorbachev's achievements at home were no less spectacular: freeing dissidents, opening up Soviet life to public discussion, forcing the country to face up to its dark history, and transforming the rubber-stamp Supreme Soviet into a pluralist parliament. He abolished the Communist Party's monopoly of power, gave the Soviet people freedom of worship, travel and vote, introduced a presidential system of government, moved the economy towards a market system, and granted a large measure of devolution to the republics.

While his achievements abroad led to a rapid warming in relations with the West, his domestic reforms provoked the turbulence that eventually engulfed him. His twin policies of glasnost and perestroika failed to break the lethargy of the Soviet bureaucracy or undermine the entrenched interests of the *nomenklatura*. His attempt to ride the tiger of nationalist unrest led to bloody clashes and virtual civil war in Lithuania, Latvia, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan. His attempt to introduce a new Union Treaty finally resulted in a coalition of the disaffected saw their power base threatened.

Mr Gorbachev's rise to power was swift. Born to a peasant family in the rich farming region of the north Caucasus on March 2, 1931, he left home to study law at Moscow university in 1950 during the stifling orthodoxy of the last years of Stalin. He became a member of Komsomol, the junior communist league, met and married his wife Raisa, and after graduation returned to Stavropol where he became deputy head of Komsomol's agitation and propaganda department.

By 1958, as Khrushchev's de-stalinisation campaign was underway, Mr Gorbachev had risen to become first secretary of Komsomol and, by the age of 39, was first secretary of the whole Stavropol region — the youngest in the country to hold such office.

His energy was first recognised by Mikhail Suslov, who brought him to Moscow. He became the central committee secretary for agriculture and a non-voting member of the politburo in 1983. But it was Yuri Andropov, the KGB head, who was his mentor and patron.

While Soviet policy won friends in the West, anger was growing at home.
Michael Binyon analyses the rise and fall of a reformer

he has iron teeth," he said. Mr Gorbachev had already astonished the world with his open mind and difference of style. Mrs Thatcher, in a celebrated remark after his visit to Britain in 1984 as head of a parliamentary delegation, said he was a man with whom she could do business.

His priority was to loosen up the ossified Soviet society so that it could withstand the shock of change. Glasnost was the principal instrument, for the first time the Soviet media began to question old propaganda clichés and to expose social ills. Perestroika, the restructuring, was more sophisticated and far-reaching. It aimed to reinvigorate Soviet government by making it less subject to party whim and more reliant on decentralisation and individual initiative.

The Chernobyl disaster in April 1986 tested the old Soviet ways of secrecy and control. After a long delay Mr Gorbachev captured the initiative, spoke to the nation on television, opened up his country to Western aid and used the incident to discredit the pre-glasnost ways.

Mr Gorbachev tried always to lead from the centre. Yegor Ligachev, a communist conservative, was promoted to the number two position in the politburo, in charge of ideology, long a lever of power and essential to head off potential opposition from the hardliners. Boris Yeltsin, brought in to clean up the corrupt Moscow city council, was a radical who served to break the waves in front of Mr Gorbachev's reforms. This protection did not last long: the hardliners rallied around Mr Ligachev and tried to slow down reforms that were gathering pace.

Mr Yeltsin, frustrated by a growing number of enemies he made in reforming Moscow government, made his extraordinary outburst against Mr Ligachev, forcing Mr Gorbachev to dismiss his former ally in the politburo and opening up the deep split with Mr Yeltsin that dominated the past three years of Soviet politics.

Mr Gorbachev, brought up in orthodox ways and still a convinced socialist, never intended to lead his country away from communism, but each step he took convinced him that more radical change was necessary.

He tried to cure the extraordinarily high incidence of alcoholism with virtual prohibition — a move that cost him dearly in popularity. In the end, Mr Gorbachev saw that nothing would change until the political framework itself was changed.

This led him to his most radical proposal, the throwing open of all elections. Again the hardliners, sensing their loss of control, tried to stop him. Appearing over their heads, he summoned an extraordinary party congress in the summer of 1988. Nothing before or since so mesmerised the Soviet people. Coinciding with the Moscow summit with his previously unthinkably pitiful Mr Gorbachev hoisting aloft a child as he stroled

round Red Square with President Reagan, the meeting and the subsequent election of a Congress of People's Deputies marked the high point of Mr Gorbachev's popularity and authority.

The pace of reform in the past year did not slow down. Many changes were codified into law, including the landmark decision to end the communist monopoly of power. But dithering over the economy cost him the rapidly waning support of the populace.

Mr Gorbachev also vacillated over independence for the republics. He was ready for a compromise but refused, for too long, to contemplate what he saw as the dissolution of the Soviet Union. He was powerless to stop the mutual hatred of Armenians and Azerbaijanis spilling over into bloody clashes over Nagorno-Karabakh.

So overwhelming were domestic challenges, that Mr Gorbachev's foreign policy was largely dictated by the need to keep the Soviet Union of the extensive burdens of the war in Afghanistan, prop up of corrupt governments in the Third World, the crippling arms race and the anticipated rising cost of maintaining Soviet control over Eastern Europe.

But the more his policies were applauded by the West, the more he stoked resentment among the hardliners at home, who resented the loss of Soviet influence.

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Showing the way: Gorbachev in full flow, pushing the pace of reform in the Soviet Union. Behind the scenes, however, resentment was growing

THE ECONOMY

Pavlov changes hinge on central control

By Roger Boyes

ousting President Gorbachev was part of the broader struggle for control of the Soviet economy. That struggle has not been resolved by his removal: there is no charted route from a command to a market economy.

The first gesture of the anti-Gorbachev coalition to raise pensions and cut or hold down some prices is no more than a way of staving off unrest. Valentin Pavlov, the Soviet prime minister, is as committed to liberalising prices as any of the various, displaced advisers of Mr Gorbachev such as Stanislav Sharulin, Nikolai Petrakov or Grigori Yavlinsky.

At one Washington summit meeting, observers noted that she wore three different ones in a single day, visiting victims of the Armenian earthquake, most of whom had lost what few possessions and clothes they had, she made the grave error of turning up in yet another expensive fur coat.

As the Soviet Union's most high-profile American Express cardholder, her glamour, elegance and passion for shopping in all the best fashion streets engendered only envy and alienation in a population more accustomed to queuing for bread. At home she was known variously and bitterly as the Tsarina, or Moscow's answer to Jackie Onassis.

can be achieved only with strong central controls. That, he believes, is the true lesson of all countries that have accelerated towards the market, from Margaret Thatcher's Britain to General Augusto Pinochet's Chile.

Central controls are needed to enforce strike bans and batten down wage claims. A central political authority is essential to guarantee a single economic space, for only in such a space can union-wide market reform succeed.

The danger is that it leads deeper into the labyrinth rather than towards the market. His political allies are in no mood for a "big bang" style of market reform.

thought that can be supported by the army — many of Mr Pavlov's deputies were products of the defence industry — and the KGB of Vladimir Kryuchkov. It is the logic of a certain brand of reform socialism, seen at its most discreditable in the winter of 1981 when General Wojciech Jaruzelski imposed martial law on Poland to stifle social discontent and introduce economic reforms.

Mr Pavlov can be expected to steer cautious economic routes. The danger is that it leads deeper into the labyrinth rather than towards the market. His political allies are in no mood for a "big bang" style of market reform.

That seems to be the credo of Mr Pavlov and it is a line of

THE SUCCESSION

Wheel turns to repeat cycle of the centuries

Richard Owen says President Gorbachev's removal shows that his many reforms have failed to provide the Soviet Union with a democratic form of leadership change

FOR a moment yesterday it was as if the clock had been turned back ten years. The scene resembled the Kremlin successions which came after the death of Leonid Brezhnev and culminated in President Gorbachev's rise to power in 1985.

There was the same announcement from state-controlled television, even the same threadbare pretence, used when Politburo members were removed in pre-Gorbachev days, that the leader had stepped down "for health reasons".

The Moscow television announcer yesterday could barely bring herself to utter the words put in front of her. The cycle of reform and repression which has dominated Russian history for centuries has put authoritarian leaders back in charge.

The Soviet Union of today is not the Soviet Union of ten years ago. Yet Mr Gorbachev failed to achieve a change in the political system commensurate with the changes in attitude he inspired. For all his reforms, he did not fundamentally alter the power structure of which he was himself a product.

He apparently could not see, despite his vision and lack of dogma, that the Soviet system lacked legitimacy. A system imposed by coup — and Soviet history books had begun to admit that the October 1917 revolution was a coup rather than a popular uprising — can still only be changed by coup.

House arrest, tanks on the streets, monotone state television announcements — all bringing vividly to mind the grim atmosphere of Moscow in 1982 when Yuri Andropov, the KGB head, replaced Brezhnev as leader. For that matter, they recall the election — or selection — of Mr Gorbachev in March 1985 when, by the same hidden and undemocratic process, he succeeded the aged Konstantin Chernenko.

The lack of a succession mechanism has its roots in Tsarist times. Only after the 1905 upheavals, under Nicholas II, were constitutional reforms and a parliament (the Duma) introduced. But they never took root. The constituent assembly established by the last free elections in Russia in 1917-18 was dispersed by Lenin. It took Stalin six years to become dictator after Lenin's death in 1924. A similar power struggle came after Stalin's death in 1953, with

Nikita Khrushchev eventually outwitting Georgi Malenkov. The removal of Khrushchev — who, unlike other Soviet leaders, did not die in office — most closely resembles the present drama. Like Mr Gorbachev, Khrushchev had gone on holiday to the Black Sea, leaving his rivals in Moscow plotting his downfall. Like Mr Gorbachev, Khrushchev had aroused profound anxieties in the Soviet leadership by implementing reforms which fostered free speech and enterprise but led to economic chaos. He was accused of arrogance, as Mr Gorbachev no doubt will be, of making bewildering changes in foreign policy, of undermining the Communist party, of endangering communism by exposing the crimes of Stalin, of tolerating East European rebellion, of antagonising the armed forces.

The plotters replaced Khrushchev in October 1964 with Brezhnev, whose dismal rule lasted 18 years. At the end Brezhnev could hardly walk or talk, and his death may have been hastened by the KGB — that is, by Andropov. Yesterday's events confirm that the KGB sees itself as the organisation which guards the interests of the nation (as defined by itself) in a system with no sources of legitimacy or accountability. Mr Gorbachev, a protégé of Andropov, clearly had KGB approval himself when he came to power.

Although Chernenko and the Old Guard blocked plans for Mr Gorbachev to succeed Andropov immediately, they were forced to allow Mr Gorbachev in when Chernenko died. Andropov and other senior KGB officers wanted the Soviet Union to be modernised, but without undermining the regime.

Perhaps Mr Gorbachev, as a dominant world figure, alienated power groups on whom he depended. It may be that the KGB and their allies in the armed forces believed Mr Gorbachev had gone beyond his brief, with the new Union Treaty threatening central control. But the new men in the Kremlin must know that reform will again follow repression. Gennadi Yanayev, if he lasts, may prove a Brezhnev-like figure. But the Mafia-like Kremlin power struggle never ceases.

Richard Owen, *The Times* Moscow correspondent 1982-85, is the author of *Crisis in the Kremlin: Soviet Succession and the Rise of Gorbachev*

Ambitious charmer who became president's secret weapon

By Alan Hamilton



Raisa: Moscow's answer to Jackie Onassis

SLIM and chic, with high cheekbones and a wide, expressive mouth, Raisa Gorbacheva captivated and charmed wherever she appeared on the world stage. But both at home and abroad she had an unfortunate tendency to overplay the fur coat factor.

Former Kremlin wives were almost never seen, except occasionally at funerals. Raisa determinedly accompanied her husband on all his major overseas trips, leaving his side only to spend money or to play the role of tourist.

One person on whom Raisa's charm failed to work was Nancy Reagan, who in her memoirs described her

Soviet counterpart as rude, haughty, bossy and hectoring. When Kitty Kelley's notorious biography of Mrs Reagan appeared recently, it is said that the first Soviet citizen to obtain a copy was Mrs Gorbacheva, who could scarce conceal her glee at the discomfort caused to Mrs Reagan by the book.

Born 59 years ago the daughter of a Siberian railway worker, Raisa met her future husband at ballroom dancing classes while they were both students at Moscow university. By all accounts she was the more cultured of the two, and took an early and close interest in shaping her husband's career, educating him with visits to the ballet, opera and

art exhibitions. She always denied any role in her husband's policy decisions, dismissing herself as merely "the general secretary's wife", but the evidence suggests otherwise.

Her husband consistently referred to her as "The General", and in a television interview claimed that he told her everything. "At our home, it is Raisa Maximovna who is the secretary of the party organisation," he said. In another interview he admitted: "I always ask her advice. Before a speech, she is my first listener."

At summit meetings, Raisa always appeared rather more than a mere ornament on her husband's arm. During a discussion in

Washington between her husband and George Shultz, then American secretary of state, Raisa insisted on being present. At the Malta summit meeting with President Bush, she cancelled a sightseeing trip so that she could be with her husband at a critical stage of negotiations. At the Reykjavik summit meeting with President Reagan she said that she would not be attending, then at the last minute changed her plans and turned up to steal the limelight.

Alexander Gorbachev, the deposed president's brother, said in an interview several years ago: "She was his secret weapon. She boosted him to power." But in the end, even she was unable to save him.



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مواصفات الوقود

THE WEST

West threatens to withhold promised help with economy

FROM SUSAN ELLICOTT IN WASHINGTON
AND GEORGE BROCK IN BRUSSELS

THE WEST yesterday reacted angrily to the headline anti-Gorbachev coup by threatening to withhold economic aid to Moscow. President Bush said aid or assistance could not be offered "when you have a group of people backed by the military that takes matters into its own hands".

He expected economic cooperation with the Soviet Union "to be on hold" in the United States and Europe after the unconstitutional action. The European Community faces a similar choice today when EC foreign ministers meet in The Hague.

The unexpected overthrow of the Soviet leader cast a shadow over White House efforts to eliminate America's last major restrictions on trade and credit links with the Soviet Union. The removal of the economic barriers and a strategic arms reduction treaty, signed about two weeks ago by Mr Bush and President Gorbachev in Moscow, are twin prongs in the superpowers' moves to put the Cold War behind them and forge a new relationship in the 1990s.

Mr Bush submitted to Congress earlier this month a formal trade agreement to remove the remaining significant restrictions with Moscow. Congressional committees are scheduled to hold hearings on the proposals, which would clear the way for Soviet access to the preferential tariffs and quotas that the United States gives to most of its trading partners, including former Soviet bloc countries.

The removal of Mr Gorbachev "obviously brings a lot of confusion" about the so-called most favoured nation status agreement, said a congressional expert on international trade. The trading status, although largely symbolic, is "one of the many means of leverage" in American efforts to encourage democratic reforms in the Soviet Union, he

said. A Republican trade counsel said the replacement of Mr Gorbachev was not necessarily "the kiss of death" but could stall the agreement.

Lloyd Bentsen, the Democratic chairman of the Senate finance committee, said that the takeover in the Soviet Union "will only weaken the Soviet economy and make it harder to stabilise the situation". He added: "Until the picture becomes clearer, we are in a period of watchful concern."

The EC foreign ministers who meet in The Hague this morning will consider an inventory of the aid which their governments promised to Mr Gorbachev at the end of last year: only a fraction of it has so far been delivered. They will then probably freeze the \$800 million package before

roundly condemning the Soviet leader's removal. In common with governments around the world, the EC's policy will be to watch and wait.

John Major discussed the possibility of a summit meeting of European leaders with President Mitterrand of France yesterday. But the Dutch government, which holds the rotating presidency of the EC and which would host any emergency meeting, said yesterday afternoon that no summit was being planned.

The slow implementation of the EC's promise of food, bank loans and technical help reflects both the community's internal divisions over how much and what kind of help Mr Gorbachev should have been given, and the creaking of the Soviet administration itself. Some of the aid was frozen after Soviet troops killed 13 people in Vilnius, the Lithuanian capital, last January but it still took Moscow two months after that to produce a 200-page list of the orphanages, old people's homes and hospitals to receive the lorriesloads of milk powder, beef, pasta and tomato concentrate.

Because the EC can hardly impose weaker sanctions than the freeze which followed the Baltic crackdown and because the monitoring on distribution can no longer be guaranteed, the foreign ministers are most likely to put their aid on ice today. After that, governments will be guided by their national interest and EC joint policies will, like the current aid package, be lowest common denominators which follow the broad international consensus.

In the longer term, a hardline regime in Moscow can only threaten the ambition of some EC governments to turn the existing community into a fully-fledged political federation.



The Maine line: Bush in Kennebunkport yesterday

CHINA

Peking fears violence

FROM CATHERINE SAMPSON IN PEKING

CHINESE leaders held their breath yesterday as the restoration of hardline power in the Soviet Union, of which they have long dreamt, threatened to bring instability and violence to their borders.

Peking's hardline Communists know that the situation in the Soviet Union now rests on a knife-edge, and their elation is tempered by terror of instability. Civil war in the Soviet Union could, Peking fears, cause a chain reaction in China.

The official news agency, Xinhua, reported briefly on the fact of the coup, and later that tanks were seen on the streets of Moscow. China's leaders, however, maintained an unusual but total silence. Li Peng, the prime minister, and Jiang Zemin, the Communist party general secretary, were featured on television in meetings with foreign dignitaries. Neither mentioned the change of leadership.

Late yesterday Xinhua reported in just one sentence that a Communist party delegation had left Peking for Moscow, led by Li Zemin, a member of the central committee. It was not clear whether the trip had been planned in advance, or whether it was an unusually fast reaction to events. Western observers suggested that the new hardline coalition of leaders in Moscow might be inviting similarly-minded representatives of the socialist world to an emergency meeting in the Soviet Union.

It was the pro-democracy demonstrations in the streets of Peking in 1989 which seemed to ignite the flame of demonstrations and change in Eastern Europe. Ironically, those ill-fated demonstrations were at their height during the May visit of President Gorbachev to Peking.

A headline backlash ensued, and Peking has spent the past two years pitted against democratic reforms. China's inability entirely to accept Mr Gorbachev's changes have been reflected in propaganda, which has referred to political reforms as temporary aberrations.

FRANCE

Dumas discusses takeover with envoy Dubinin

FROM PHILIP JACOBSON IN PARIS

AS PRESIDENT Mitterrand prepared to give his reaction to the overthrow of Mr Gorbachev in a press conference to be televised live last night, the French foreign minister, Roland Dumas, his minister, had received Yuri Dubinin, the Soviet ambassador to Paris.

According to the Elysee Palace, M. Mitterrand had discussed the situation in the Soviet Union in lengthy phone conversations with President Bush, John Major, Helmut Kohl, the German chancellor, and Ruud Lubbers, the Dutch prime minister. The Netherlands is the current EC president.

Earlier in the day, a cautious statement from the French ministry noted that the removal of Mr Gorbachev, "if confirmed", was clearly an event of great importance "especially when accompanied by the declaration of a state of emergency".

For France's ruling Social-

ists, the "tentative coup d'état" merited only the strongest condemnation. "The consequences will be considerable for both the Soviet people and for the progress towards world peace," said the party leader, Pierre Mauroy, expressing "the greatest anxiety" over the course of events.

Among the first reactions from the French right, the Rassemblement pour la République, largest of the opposition parties, demanded "firm and rapid action" by the French government in step with the EC.

For the far-right National Front, the events represented "an extremely menacing threat to world peace". The French Communist party, by contrast, was silent, conceivably because it has no idea of how to respond to the downfall of a man whose liberalisation policies were thoroughly disliked by the hardline leadership in Paris.



Uniformly uncertain: Soviet soldiers pondering their fate outside their barracks in Potsdam, Germany yesterday

GERMANY

Taciturn troops turn back clock

FROM ANNE McELVOY IN BERLIN

OUTSIDE the House of Officers in the Karlshorst suburb of east Berlin yesterday morning, it was as if the clock had been turned back overnight.

The friendly Soviet officers who, since German unity have been happy to exchange gossip for cigarettes and even invite the Western press for glasses of vodka, had retreated into the old, distrustful silence.

Their faces pale with anxiety, eyes downcast, they hurried from their barracks to the lecture hall. Nobody wanted to talk about the ousting of President Gorbachev to whose health we had drunk in the officers' mess on May Day.

In a brief statement, the military high command in Wunsdorf said yesterday that the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Germany would "continue on the planned schedule, regardless of the change of leadership". Viktor, the usually voluble interpreter, restricted himself to muttering: "It is a terrible day. We have been told to say nothing", before hurrying off.

All leave was cancelled in Karlshorst, the show-case garrison for the elite troops stationed in Berlin and known as Little Russia. Even the *Traktor* bar where the soldiers who have developed a taste for German beer spend their free time remained empty. For eastern Germany, which still has about 300,000 of the 380,000 Soviet troops on its soil, the events in the Moscow are charged with special significance and the

communities which host Soviet bases are nervous.

Ulrich Fickel, the deputy premier of Thuringia where the concentration of troops is particularly high, called yesterday for the process to be speeded up. "For those of us who lived in the old East Germany, this is chillingly reminiscent of bygone Stalinist times," he said.

He has asked the government to make an accelerated troop withdrawal a priority in its dealings with the new leadership. The process, due for completion by the end of 1994 and already behind schedule - is considered the main hurdle before the new Germany can consider its relations with Moscow fully normal.

Bonn has relied not only on President Gorbachev staying in power but on him strengthening his control over the army in order to achieve a rapid withdrawal without friction. But the morale of the troops has worsened. Almost 200 have deserted since German unification, many of them claiming political asylum.

The federal authorities have not handed over the deserters, but have discouraged the trend by saying that, with Mr Gorbachev in power, asylum would be relevant in very few cases. A spokesman for the justice ministry said yesterday that Bonn would reassess its treatment of deserters if the Soviet Union were to assume a hardline course.

DEFENCE

Arms pacts will be under threat

By MICHAEL EVANS, DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

ARMS control treaties, not yet ratified, and Nato plans to cut defence spending became instantly vulnerable yesterday after the downfall of President Gorbachev. Although the cold war was not officially re-instated, defence officials in the West would have reason to feel "extremely gloomy".

However, in spite of the uncertainty over the future of the Soviet Union, it appeared unlikely that Britain's planned defence cuts, including the withdrawal of two divisions from Germany, would be abandoned. While there will be no hurry to start moving armour from Germany, there is no question at this stage of dropping plans to restructure the armed forces.

But clearly ministers will not want to proceed as if nothing has happened. Ministers will not want to freeze the defence plans already announced.

The new Soviet leadership pledged to honour existing international treaties and agreements. But since neither the Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) treaty nor the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (Start) have yet been ratified, it is not clear whether the pledge embraces these two vital pacts. The Soviet military has in the past expressed grave doubts about the CFE treaty, which they see as a victory for the West. It was because of their concerns that thousands of Soviet tanks, artillery pieces and armoured combat vehicles were trans-

ferred out of the CFE treaty area to regions east of the Ural mountains to avoid their being included.

A senior British defence source said that if the Soviet Union failed to ratify CFE before the end of the year, the West would have reason to feel "extremely gloomy". Under CFE, the Soviet Union would be allowed about 13,000 tanks west of the Urals.

The Start agreement was signed by President Bush and President Gorbachev only three weeks ago. Recently Marshal Dmitri Yazov, the Soviet defence minister, described it as a balanced treaty, indicating that Start may survive the coup.

According to the official data, the Soviet Union currently has 2,500 nuclear delivery vehicles with 10,271 nuclear warheads. The US has 2,222 delivery vehicles and 10,371 warheads. Under Start, the Soviet Union is to cut its arsenal by 900 delivery vehicles and 4,271 warheads, the US, by 622 delivery vehicles and 4,371 warheads. Even if CFE and Start are ratified, it seems most unlikely that the Soviet military will be interested in any more arms control talks.

The Soviet military has already shown its dislike of the western plan for an "open skies" inspection proposal. The future "CFE-IA" talks, about manpower cuts, also looks doomed.

MIDDLE EAST

Doubt clouds peace talks

FROM RICHARD BEESTON IN JERUSALEM

THE future of the proposed October Middle East peace conference was in doubt yesterday after the toppling of President Gorbachev, who had made the Soviet Union one of its sponsors.

While the ramifications of the coup staged by Communist hardliners in Moscow will be felt acutely in Europe and the United States, the Middle East is especially sensitive to any threat to the so-called new order in the region. The diplomatic breakthrough this summer, brokered by America with Moscow's backing, has meant that supposedly implacable enemies like Syria and Israel have agreed to hold direct talks to settle their differences. Although the question of Palestinian representation has not been settled, it had been widely predicted in the Middle East that some compromise would be reached.

Yesterday, however, it seemed unlikely that, under a new, orthodox Communist regime, the Soviet Union would back American policy in the region as consistently as had Mr Gorbachev.

The change in Soviet attitudes was first detected in the late 1980s, when Moscow's relations with Israel warmed and the Soviet Union allowed hundreds of thousands of Jews to emigrate to the Jewish state. But the most dramatic reversal of Kremlin thinking was revealed last year after Iraq invaded Kuwait and Moscow abandoned its former hardline Arab client states, such as Iraq, Syria and Yemen, and instead supported American-led action at the United Nations to force President Saddam Hussein out of the emirate.

Yesterday David Levy, the Israeli foreign minister, appealed to Arab states not to allow Soviet domestic politics to interfere with the current opportunity to negotiate a lasting peace between Arabs and Israelis. "Everything must be done to ensure that whatever is happening in the Soviet Union... does not affect the steps we have already taken and will not slow the continuation of the peace process," he said in Jerusalem.

Tens of thousands of Jews waiting to emigrate from the Soviet Union face the choice between leaving for Israel en masse or facing the potential danger of being trapped by the new hardline regime.

Officials at the Jewish Agency, the semi-government body responsible for immigration, called an emergency session yesterday to prepare for the possible arrival of 100,000 Soviet Jews who have already been given exit visas by the Soviet authorities and are waiting to leave.



Levy: Soviet politics must not harm peace process

East Europe quakes as coup endangers democratic reforms



Warsaw: consulted General Jaruzelski

THE vulnerability of reform in Eastern Europe has been glaringly exposed by the coup against President Gorbachev. "It can only be bad news," said Adam Gajpinski, the building industry minister, before an emergency parliamentary session. He was speaking for the whole of Central and Eastern Europe which has discarded communism and embarked on the road to a free market on the assumption that either Mr Gorbachev, or at least his policies, would survive.

The three most advanced reformist countries are caught in a limbo. Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia have been seeking, without success, some form of security guarantee from Nato, as well as closer economic ties to the European Community. The West has so far rebuffed these approaches on the grounds that even a partial

The three most reformist countries - Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia - fear they will be caught up in the Soviet power struggle, Roger Boyes reports from Warsaw

admission to the Western security community could tip the balance in the Kremlin towards the hardliners.

Now these hardliners have made their move anyway and the East Europeans are left, as one Hungarian commentator put it yesterday, "without clothes in a hailstorm". Only Romania has a regulated bilateral relationship with Moscow, in the form of a friendship treaty signed on March 22. This pledges that "the two countries undertake not to tolerate the use of their territories by a third state to commit an act of aggression against the other side, and not to support such a state". This wording pleased the Soviet

high command which has been complaining that the Soviet foreign policy makers have not been able to secure similar commitments from the rest of Eastern Europe.

Hungary and Czechoslovakia are relatively sanguine about Soviet intentions. Since they have no more Soviet troops on their territories, the prospect of a post-Gorbachev regime trying to roll back the reforms with tanks seems unlikely. But their economies are dependent on the Soviet Union. The only market for many Hungarian and Czechoslovak engineering goods is the Soviet Union. Since January trade has been in dollars and

Moscow, strapped for cash, has cancelled orders.

If a pro-heavy industry lobby now takes over the running of the Soviet economy, then opponents to reform in Eastern Europe will be given a boost. Without Mr Gorbachev the fight for market policies has become that much more difficult. In Slovakia Vladimir Meciar, the leader of a breakaway but distinctly leftist faction of the Public Against Violence group, is poised to take advantage of a change in power in Moscow. He has gathered support in threatened tank factories and steel works of Slovakia and preaches wage increases, price controls and a slower pace of reform.

It is Poland, however, that feels most immediately in danger. As President Walesa consulted Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, the prime minister, and

his predecessor, General Jaruzelski, it was plain that Warsaw was alarmed. First, there are still more than 40,000 Soviet troops on Polish soil. If the new Soviet leadership is beholden to the army then it might try to take advantage of its garrisons in Poland. At the very least it will slow down negotiations to remove the Soviet soldiers.

Second, Poland's western border looks uneasy since the 300,000 Soviet troops remaining there will become a real source of instability. In addition, Warsaw expects a big refugee problem. About 50,000 Soviet tourists and traders are currently in Poland and thousands more were crossing the frontier yesterday. If only a fraction of these people claim asylum Poland will be overwhelmed.

Like Hungary, Poland has been trying to implement a twin-track *Ostpolitik*,

simultaneously dealing with President Gorbachev and the central authorities while establishing separate relations with individual republics, including the Russian Federation, the Ukraine and Lithuania. There are substantial Polish minorities in each of these republics and this element, too, drags Warsaw unwillingly into the conflict.

Earlier this year the Warsaw government agreed in principle to allow a Lithuanian government-in-exile to set up its camp in Poland should there be an attack on the Baltic republics. Now, as President Landsbergis of Lithuania gives a warning that his leadership may have to go underground, it seems that Warsaw will have to honour its pledge. The succession struggle in Moscow is bound to suck in Eastern Europe and the turmoil will ripple westwards.

Thatcher says Soviet people should take to the streets

By RICHARD FORD, POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

MARGARET Thatcher yesterday called on the Soviet people to take to the streets to fight for democracy in the wake of the toppling of President Gorbachev.

The former prime minister, who forged a close relationship with the ousted Soviet leader, urged Britain and other countries in Nato to suspend defence cuts planned since the apparent end of the Cold War.

She criticised the West for not having offered more concrete help and support for Mr Gorbachev's effort to reform Soviet society and introduce a market economy.

Mrs Thatcher, who last met Mr Gorbachev during the G7 summit in London last month, said she doubted that the former Soviet leader would be in a position to resist the new leadership. "We are very concerned to see that he is properly treated and that he is able to speak freely."

The former prime minister, who returned from a trip abroad on Sunday night, denounced the takeover and called on Western leaders to condemn it and to insist on knowing the whereabouts of Mr Gorbachev. "This is an old-fashioned style coup belonging to the Stalin and Brezhnev era to keep people down by tanks and the army and the KGB."

She said people should not assume that the coup would succeed. "The people have got used to democracy. I doubt whether they will give it up easily." Speaking on the steps of her Westminster office, Mrs Thatcher said that the Soviet people should resist the coup "in the only way they can, by making their views known as the people of Eastern Europe made their views known. They came out on the streets to make them known, came

out in great masses". The coup was unconstitutional by the laws of the new Soviet Union, she added. "I think the situation is very grave indeed. Mr Gorbachev had brought new hope to the Soviet people. He brought democracy, freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom of travel. He brought new hope to the world, to the countries of Eastern Europe, to the world that we were going into a new era of international co-operation."

"A great deal of that was due to his courage, and his determination and also to the strength of the West and its realisation that there were these changes in the Soviet Union. We have to use the power of words totally to condemn what has happened."

She doubted that the Soviet Union was as ungovernable as its new leaders claimed and she added that they might find they had brought about the very situation the coup was said to be attempting to avoid.

Mrs Thatcher said that she regretted that the West had not shown more clear support for Mr Gorbachev's reforms and offered more concrete support.

A change of power would bring doubt to the countries of Eastern Europe and also to the Middle East, she said.

Proposed Western arms cuts were partly dependent on an improvement in the Soviet human rights record. "In my view these cuts which were going to be implemented should not be implemented now. We must pause to see what happens."

Later she added: "We shall judge whether the Soviet Union will keep her international agreements or not by how she treats her people at home."



Condemning the coup: Mrs Thatcher, outside her London office yesterday, and Mr Major in Downing Street

THATCHER-GORBACHEV RELATIONSHIP

Bond forged from love of straight talk

SEVEN years ago Margaret Thatcher identified him as the first Russian with whom she could do business, and forged one of the most unlikely and intriguing political alliances of modern times (Nicholas Wood and Richard Ford write). Yesterday, it was no surprise that while Western leaders doled out their outrage at his fall in the language of diplomacy, Mrs Thatcher urged the Russian people to take to the streets.

It was a typically forthright intervention from Mrs Thatcher and one that Mikhail Gorbachev would have appreciated. In searching for the source of the strange chemistry that brought together the one-time communist apparatchik and the West's most

resolute Cold War warrior, a shared love of straight-talking and an impatience with the niceties of the international power game were never far from the surface.

Their appetite for political debate was first whetted over Sunday lunch at Chequers in 1984 when Mr Gorbachev first visited Britain as part of a trade delegation. So enthused were they about comparing the merits of their rival political systems that the meal went largely unregarded.

It was three years later, however, with Mr Gorbachev at the pinnacle of his power and with Mrs Thatcher approaching her third general election, that the two leaders drove their sides and officials to distraction with the length

and fervour of their intellectual sparring. The occasion was the former prime minister's Hollywood-style appearance in Moscow, in which her fur-trimmed attire was widely admired and she was cheered on the streets.

During her 5-day visit, Mrs Thatcher lit a candle for peace at the Zagorsk monastery, kept lunches and theatre audiences waiting while she and Mr Gorbachev stretched their verbal jousting matches to 13 hours, and returned home to herald the ending of the Cold War.

In a remark underlining the strong bond between them, she said that she could not remember spending as much time in discussion with another leader. A sharp intel-

lect, she admired a similar quality in him and both were able to put their case forcefully without loss of temper.

With him, she said, there were no diplomatic niceties. "It's important to understand that you don't have to agree with a person to get on with him. You can disagree profoundly and yet respect him and his talents."

Even after she lost power, Mrs Thatcher continued to hail him as the person with the courage and determination to end the isolation of the Soviet Union. Only last month after meeting Mr Gorbachev in London, Mrs Thatcher retained confidence in his ability to manage the change. Yesterday's events show how misplaced her confidence was.

MAJOR TRIBUTE

No reason to reconsider defence cuts

By NICHOLAS WOOD, POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

JOHN Major, the prime minister, yesterday condemned the removal of President Gorbachev as a blow against democracy and the process of reform that he instigated.

He said that the whole world had a serious stake in the events taking place in the Soviet Union and also paid tribute to President Gorbachev's "proud record" in contributing to the easing of East-West tensions.

Although it was too early to say whether the world was returning to the Cold War era, Mr Major did not believe that it was going back to the position that existed before Mr Gorbachev came to power in 1985. He expected the Soviet Union to "respect and honour" all the international commitments entered into by President Gorbachev.

The prime minister called a meeting of senior ministers, including Tom King, the defence secretary, against the background of speculation that Britain might be forced to reconsider the planned defence cuts. Mr Major said he saw no reason for a further review, adding that the possibility of a change in the Soviet leadership had been taken into account in framing the reductions.

"The possibility of some action of this sort has been around and has been considered for some considerable time, but there was no immediate knowledge that it was going to happen at this particular moment."

"There seems little doubt that President Gorbachev has been removed from power by an unconstitutional seizure of power. There are constitutional ways of removing the president of the Soviet Union. They have not been used. What appears to have happened is a strike against the reform process in the Soviet Union."

"Whatever the future may hold for President Gorbachev,

I hope there is no doubt in anyone's mind about the immense contribution he has made over recent years, both to the prospects for people within the Soviet Union and for the rapprochement that has taken place between East and West."

Mr Major rejected suggestions that the refusal of the G7 countries to give the Soviet leader up to £7.3 billion in economic aid had contributed to his downfall.

OPPOSITION VIEWS

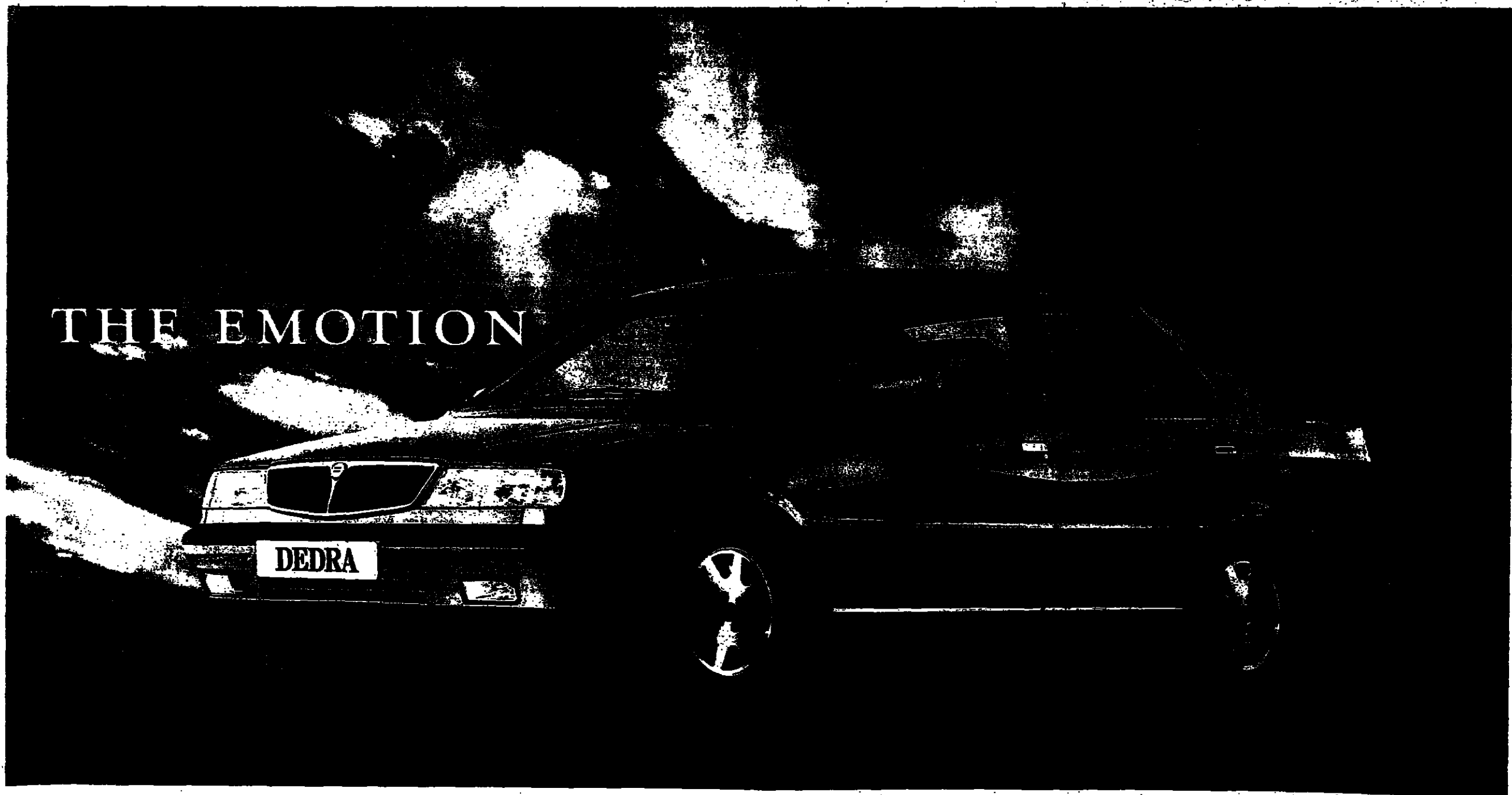
Kinnock in plea to new leaders

NEIL Kinnock yesterday urged the new leaders of the Soviet Union to let the world see that Mikhail Gorbachev was alive and in good health (Richard Ford writes). He said that the relationship between East and West would depend on whether those responsible were prepared to sustain the direction of change "undertaken so courageously by Mikhail Gorbachev".

Paddy Ashdown, the Liberal Democrat leader, said: "Freedom and reform in the Soviet Union, stability in Europe and the possibility of peace in the world are now hanging by a very slender thread in Moscow."

Sir David Steel, the Liberal Democrat foreign affairs spokesman, who still hopes to visit Moscow this week, said: "The international community must hope that the Soviet Union does not descend into chaos and that the reforms will continue."

Gerald Kaufman, shadow foreign secretary, speaking on BBC Radio, said the Soviet Union must realise that it cannot turn its back on the policies pursued by Mr Gorbachev.



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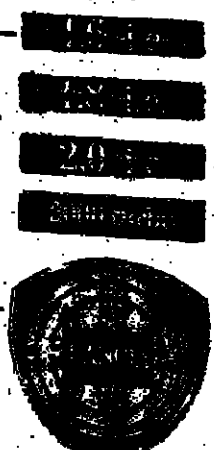
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Radio 3 rival is awarded commercial radio licence

By MELINDA WHITSTOCK, MEDIA CORRESPONDENT

CLASSIC FM, the commercial rival to BBC Radio 3, was yesterday awarded the new independent national radio licence by the Radio Authority. It plans to start broadcasting next summer.

The classical radio consortium displaced Showtime Radio, the original winner of the non-pop FM licence, which failed to secure the finance needed to back its £1.75 million bid.

Classic FM, instrumental in persuading the government to ban rock music from the non-pop station last year, was provisionally awarded the licence after the authority rejected Showtime's request for four extra weeks to raise £20.5 million of equity and leasing finance.

Classic FM, the second-highest bidder with a £526,000 annual bid, has been given six weeks to prepare the authority with guarantees from its shareholders to meet the £5 million it needs to fund its bid.

Backed by Dame Kiri Te Kanawa and André Previn, Classic says it will offer "easy access listening to the popular masterworks of the great composers". Peter Baldwin, chief executive of the Radio Authority, said: "Classic will fill a gap in the market."

David Miller, Classic's chief executive, said that the new station would "drift on the Pavarotti wave", attracting listeners from a growing number of young people who are pushing sales of classical records and CDs to record levels. He expects initially to achieve an audience of between 5 and 7 per cent of the population, primarily the young and affluent market prospective radio advertisers are keen to attract.

Classic, whose major shareholders include Time Warner, the American media conglomerate, will operate from the same premises as Jazz FM, the troubled London station Mr Miller is acquiring for £1.1 million. The Jazz FM board is expected to recommend today that its shareholders accept the offer.

Clive Lindley, who wrote Showtime's application, said: "Naturally we're very disappointed. If the authority had given us an extra four weeks the Treasury would have got an extra £1 million. We were just £4 million short and we could have got that money in four weeks."

TV Aids thesis is censured

By OUR MEDIA CORRESPONDENT

AN EDITION of Channel 4's Dispatches programme that challenged the widely accepted scientific view that the HIV virus causes Aids was censured yesterday by the Broadcasting Complaints Commission for "unfairly treating the subject of Aids".

The Aids Catch, which argued that behaviour such as drug abuse and not the HIV virus might be chiefly responsible for Aids, "did not give the ordinary viewer the basis for forming a judgement about the controversial arguments put forward and failed to indicate the relative strength of medical and scientific opinion against the minority view shown", the commission said.

The Independent Television Commission yesterday criticised the findings, saying that viewers could not have been confused about the risk of HIV infection given the programme's clear labelling as just one of many arguments.



Facing trial the Marquess of Blandford leaving court yesterday with his wife Rebecca, having been granted unconditional bail after admitting driving while disqualified and without insurance on the M40 at High Wycombe, Buckinghamshire, on July 8. The marquess, aged 35, of Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire, denies similar offences alleged to have taken place at Wootton, Oxfordshire, on May 5. Trial has been set for September 10.

Cathedral two set for a long stay

By EDWARD GORMAN, IRISH AFFAIRS CORRESPONDENT

TWO Roman Catholics who have taken sanctuary at Newry cathedral in Co Down in defiance of an IRA order to leave Ireland said yesterday that they were prepared to stay there for years if necessary.

Liam Kearns, aged 23, and David Madigan, aged 19, sought the sanctuary of the cathedral's sacristy on Saturday when the IRA deadline expired. The men were accused by the IRA of being members of a six-strong gang allegedly responsible for the assault on two local Sinn Féin members a week ago. The IRA implied that they would be killed if they defied the order.

Yesterday a cousin of one of the men, who is among three men who have left the country after the threat, said that Mr Madigan and Mr Kearns were prepared to stay in the cathedral indefinitely. "Should it take years, they will stay there as long as needs be," David McShane said. "Nobody wants to be exiled from their own community," he added.

David Madigan's mother, Sheila Madigan, said: "My message to the IRA is that I will stand by my son."

Police delayed molester alert

By CRAIG SETON

WEST Midlands police yesterday defended their decision to delay for 24 hours a public warning that a child molester had absconded from an open clinic where he had been transferred for rehabilitation from a secure special hospital.

Ronald Spencer, aged 41, who is subject to a Mental Health Act order, disappeared on Saturday during treatment at the Gracewell Clinic, Birmingham. Not until Sunday did police give a warning that he was considered a danger to children.

Spencer, who has convictions for indecency with boys, was sent to the clinic on July 31 from Ashworth hospital on Merseyside, which treats patients seen as violent, dangerous or potential criminals and who are held under the act.

Acting Chief Superintendent Norman Langford said officers had been unaware of any danger until checks had been made. It had been decided on Sunday to err towards caution and give a warning although police lacked information. Not until yesterday could officers consult Spencer's doctor.

Flamingo question stumps bird world

By ROBIN YOUNG

READERS of the New Scientist have turned their minds to one of the outstanding mysteries of the bird world. Why do flamingos stand on one leg? a correspondent from Derby enquired. The explanations put forward have been ingenious, but not very convincing.

Peter Verstager, of London, suggested that they do not stand on one leg but alternate from one to another, to eliminate the risk of getting stuck in the mud. If that hypothesis does not seem to be on firm ground, consider the theory of Paul Hardy from Osaka, Japan. He argues that it is to halve the frequency with which ducks bump into them.

M.A. Ogilvie, from Bruchladdich on the island of Islay, says that it enables them to sway with gusts of wind from different directions, which would not be possible on both legs.

William Smith, from University College, Dublin, says that by holding one leg against its body the flamingo reduces the distance the bird's blood has to travel against the force of gravity. "Standing on each leg alternately prevents blood collecting in the foot."

The truth seems to be that no one knows. The editor of the New Scientist has now cried enough to correspondence on the subject.

Man drove on wrong side for 20 miles

A Royal Marine who drove the wrong way down a dual carriageway for 20 miles yesterday fined £1,360 and banned from driving for two years.

When stopped by police, Leonard May, aged 32, a petty officer and medical assistant, said: "I know I'm on the wrong side of the carriageway but I couldn't get off." He told them he had drunk six pints of bitter and was found to be two-and-a-half times over the legal alcohol limit.

At Exeter magistrates' court he pleaded guilty to reckless driving and driving with excess alcohol. The chairman said that although it was a serious offence he would not impose a jail sentence because May had served his country in the Gulf war.

Survival option

Ford workers returning yesterday to Halewood, Merseyside, after the annual three-week shutdown were told that the plant could survive only if export markets were developed for the Escort and Orion models produced there. The 8,500 workers also heard that car production would cease for the next fortnight, after which it would be restricted to three days a week until further notice.

Tories cleared

Two Conservative councillors in the London borough of Havering, Andrew Rosindell and Cyril North, have been cleared of electoral malpractice after a 12-month investigation by Scotland Yard. Rival candidates accused them of trying to gain extra votes in last year's local elections by visiting homes for the elderly and persuading them to vote Conservative by proxy.

CORRECTION

The typical high-street price for a litre of whisky referred to in an article on duty-free shops in our issue of August 17 should have been £15.36, not £11.10, which is the average price charged for a standard bottle.



The flamingo: theories bring truth no nearer

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Compulsory teaching of music and art to end at 14

By DAVID TYTLER, EDUCATION EDITOR

ALL schools should offer some art and music to pupils up to the age of 16 although they will only be compulsory national curriculum subjects for children from five to 14, Tim Eggar, the education minister, said yesterday.

"We believe that all schools should continue to offer some form of aesthetic experience in the curriculum for all 14 to 16-year-olds, and that the great majority of schools should offer art and music to pupils who wish to continue their study of these subjects after 14," Mr Eggar said. "However, we think it right that pupils should have some flexibility at this age to pursue their own interests."

"We are determined to ensure that art and music in the national curriculum are neither over-complicated nor prescriptive. They must be both flexible and manageable for teachers, pupils and schools."



Eggar: pupils need a flexibility of interest

Mr Eggar was speaking after the publication of the final reports of the art and music working parties, which will now be put out for consultation by the National Curriculum Council so that the new courses can begin in schools next autumn.

Before the national curriculum, music and art were not compulsory and some pupils were not taught them. Originally, it was planned to make the subjects compulsory until age 16.

The art working party, chaired by Lord Kennew, Master of Jesus College, Cambridge, has recommended three attainment targets: understanding, making, and investigating. The three targets recommended by the music working party, chaired by Sir John Manduell, principal of the Royal Northern College of Music, are performing, composing, and appraising.

Maggie Semple, the Arts Council's senior education officer, said: "It will be a great loss if art and music are no longer compulsory - no one would stop teaching English at 14. It is as if the arts are not regarded as being so essential to a person's education as other subjects."

The National Union of Teachers said the "downgrading" proposals would have a serious impact on the attitude of children. "If they think they can opt out, pupils from 11 onwards will not give these subjects the attention and energy they deserve."

Lessons in detail

The curriculum will include: ART: At seven, children will be expected to compare the use of colour in their own drawings and paintings of flowers with the work of renowned artists; experiment with different drawing materials; make detailed studies of small insects; make a series of drawings on how fellow pupils might be transformed by a magic spell.

At 11: make colour studies of how different painters have represented the sky; design a building for a character in a book; examine changes in clothing design; work with a simple computer system to make a sequence of images to illustrate an incident described in a local newspaper; draw parts of the school from different angles.

At 14: recognise and value representations of similar forms in different cultures,

such as the kite in Chinese, Japanese, Indian and European tradition; design and print a poster to make people aware of an issue of public concern; record a sequence of movement on video tape.

MUSIC: At seven, pupils will be expected to perform simple rhythmic and melodic patterns by ear; sing songs in a group; play simple instruments and perform to audiences.

At 11: interpret more complex signs, symbols and cues, showing some understanding of the elements of music; sing and play music from various times and cultures; perform in a group; present and direct performances.

At 14: perform in a range of musical styles; sing and play a more demanding repertoire in groups; sing or play a solo part; plan, present and evaluate their performances.



David Greenwood, local councillor for the area, on farmland that could be turned into a rubbish dump. Old quarry holes could be used, he says

Fans urged to pull Archers out of the dump

MILLIONS of listeners to *The Archers* are being asked to help to defeat a plan to turn 150 acres of Worcestershire farmland into a rubbish dump for the West Midlands.

Shanks and McEwan Waste Services has commissioned an independent environmental audit to support its proposal to create a waste disposal site at Cockshute Hill Farm near Hanbury. The company said it would probably make a formal planning application soon.

Hanbury was used as the model for Ambridge, the fictional home of the radio family, and the Hanbury action group has appealed to fans for help. Summerhill Farm, the prototype for Brookfield Farm in *The Archers*, is a quarter of a mile from the site.

Objectors are also concerned about the projected flow of 180 lorries a day

The village that inspired radio's everyday story of country folk is threatened by a rubbish tip. Douglas Broom reports on local realities

to the site, many of them using the Salt Way, the Roman road running from Droitwich to Hanbury. David Greenwood, vice-chairman of Wychavon district council planning committee and the local councillor for the area, said: "I only found out about this plan because someone stuffed some documents through my letter box. The company has been holding talks with the county council but no one has consulted us. We do not believe this site can make money just by taking domestic refuse."

"We believe that the only way it can show a profit is to take toxic and semi-toxic waste. We cannot see the need to dig up virgin farmland when there are lots of holes left by quarrying that could be used."

Steven Hargreaves, planning and estates manager for Shanks and McEwan, said: "We have no intention whatsoever of using this site for anything other than normal domestic household waste or comparable commercial waste. There is a shortage of landfill sites in Hereford and Worcester but we can no longer rely on using old gravel pits and the like because we cannot guarantee that liquor produced by the waste will not

leach out. The reason for choosing this site is that it is on highly impermeable clay and we can be sure that nothing will leak into the local water supply."

Only small areas of the site would be dug at a time and screened by earth banks. Once refilled the area could become a country park. Mr Hargreaves said the company would "restore the site to a comprehensive plan, which ensures that the end product is both in keeping with the character of the area and generally better than what was there when we started."

He added that the site was still under discussion. "As part of any planning application we might submit we will undertake a comprehensive programme to explain our plans to the local community."

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Vicar quits over night chimes dispute

A vicar has left his parish after a dispute with parishioners over church clock chimes that kept him awake at night. The Rev Ian Firmstone, of St George's church, Littleport, Cambridgeshire, angered churchgoers by turning off the chimes, which were a memorial for local people killed in the first world war.

He claims he was then plagued with abusive telephone calls, hate mail and threats. Local people insisted that the bells, which sounded throughout the night, be resumed immediately.

Months of argument failed to end the dispute. Mr Firmstone took extended sick leave as his health deteriorated and then announced that he was taking up a new post next month as team vicar at Farset, near Peterborough. In the meantime, the chimes remain switched off.

Man 'posed as GP for 30 years'

A man alleged to have posed as a GP and held surgeries over the past 30 years was committed by Bradford magistrates for trial at Leeds crown court on fraud charges.

Muhammad Saeed, aged 63, is accused of providing ante-natal and post-natal services and conspiring to supply medicines with Anil Pullan, aged 27, a chemist. Mr Saeed was remanded in custody and Mr Pullan's bail was extended.

Driver jailed

A man who killed two of his friends when he lost control of his car as he drove them home from a nightclub was jailed for two years at Oxford crown court. Anthony Hart, aged 22, was driving at 60mph in a 30mph area and was over the legal alcohol limit. Hart, of Berinsfield, Oxfordshire, admitted two charges of causing death by reckless driving.

Bowbelle date

A private prosecution brought against the owners of the Bowbelle dredger and company managers over the death of Ruth Hadden in the Marchioness pleasure boat disaster on the Thames two years ago, was adjourned in the defendant's absence until September 18 by Bow Street magistrates.

Petrol ordeal

Police are looking for two youths aged about 15 after a boy aged 10 suffered serious burns when he was thrown into a burning pool of petrol. One of them set fire to petrol he had poured onto the ground and the other threw David Rose into the flames near his home at Hylton Castle, Sunderland.

Pit bull charge

Linford Daniels, aged 25, a musician, of Stoke Newington, north London, was remanded on conditional bail by Camberwell magistrates until November 19 after he denied being in charge of a pit bull terrier in a public place without a muzzle.

Murder remand

Helen Ruth Lucas, aged 26, of Park Sheffield, was remanded in custody by Sheffield magistrates charged with murdering her daughter Natasha, aged seven, by drowning or asphyxiation.

Painting theft

A £20,000 painting of Prince Edward and fellow students, has been stolen from Jesus College, Cambridge, where the prince spent three years reading history, archaeology and anthropology.

Steaming ahead

Earlsley railway station in Herefordshire is to be taken to Welshpool where it will be rebuilt brick by brick and used by steam train enthusiasts.

Study links height to healthy hearts

FROM THOMSON PRENTICE, MEDICAL CORRESPONDENT IN AMSTERDAM

SHORT men are twice as likely to have a heart attack than tall men, according to the results of a Medical Research Council study.

The increased risk may be because poor nutrition in childhood handicaps the development of the heart and coronary arteries, as well as affecting growth, scientists believe. Tall men have bigger and stronger hearts, and wider arteries, which could help to prevent blockages. The risk to

short men emerged yesterday in the results of a study of 4,860 middle-aged men in England and Wales. The findings were presented to the annual congress in Amsterdam of the European Society of Cardiology.

The men, aged 45 to 59, were recruited in Caerphilly, Mid Glamorgan, and Speedwell, a suburb of Bristol, and their health was monitored for five years. During that time, 126 died of heart disease, 97 had non-fatal heart attacks and 28 showed symptoms of heart conditions.

John Yarnell, who led the research, told the conference: "We found a consistent and graded relationship between height and the occurrence of heart disease." Dr Yarnell, of the Medical Research Council epidemiology unit at Llandough hospital, Penarth, South Glamorgan, said that the link could not be explained by the fact that manual workers who smoked were shorter than men in professional occupations. The risk to men who were just under 5ft was twice that in those who were 6ft 4in.

Lower birth weights were reported in those who developed heart disease, and those men also tended to be shorter. "Doctors may eventually be able to stimulate the heart to repair itself after damage from a heart attack, researchers believe. Work by scientists at Birmingham university medical school on the possibility of regenerating heart tissue could lead to new treatments for heart disease, the conference in Amsterdam was told.

Firms give little help to genetics

By NICK NUTTALL, TECHNOLOGY CORRESPONDENT

DRUG companies are spending pitifully small amounts in supporting the international effort to map mankind's genetic codes although research in that area was crucial to their future prosperity, scientists were told yesterday.

Sir Walter Bodmer, head of the Imperial Cancer Research Fund and president of the Human Genome Organisation, the body co-ordinating the international effort, said pin-pointing, sequencing and understanding the 50,000 to 100,000 human genes would allow companies to develop new and more effective drugs.

Speaking during the eleventh International Human Genome mapping conference in London he said that only a fraction of a per cent of the estimated £2 billion needed was coming from commercial sources, with the lion's share coming from medical charities and research councils.

"We have had a certain amount of difficulty in persuading the commercial world that their future lies in this research," Sir Walter said. Peter Pearson, director of the Genome Data Base at Johns Hopkins university, Baltimore, Maryland, said that American researchers were in a similar situation.

Sir Walter added: "When we consider that the knowledge gained will provide the basis for nearly all the advances in the understanding and treatment of most chronic human diseases, then the human genome project should be regarded as an essential investment by society in the future health of mankind."

Tougher rules for medical trials

By JILL SHERMAN, SOCIAL SERVICES CORRESPONDENT

TOUGH guidelines to protect human volunteers taking part in medical trials were announced yesterday by Virginia Bottomley, the health minister.

All health authorities have been instructed to set up by next February a local research ethics committee, which will have to approve all projects involving human subjects. The committees will lay down strict rules about how clinical trials should be conducted and the size of inducements that can be offered to patients or other health professionals to take part.

If doctors fail to notify the committee of trials they are conducting they risk being disciplined by the health authority or reported to the General Medical Council, which has the power to remove them from the medical register.

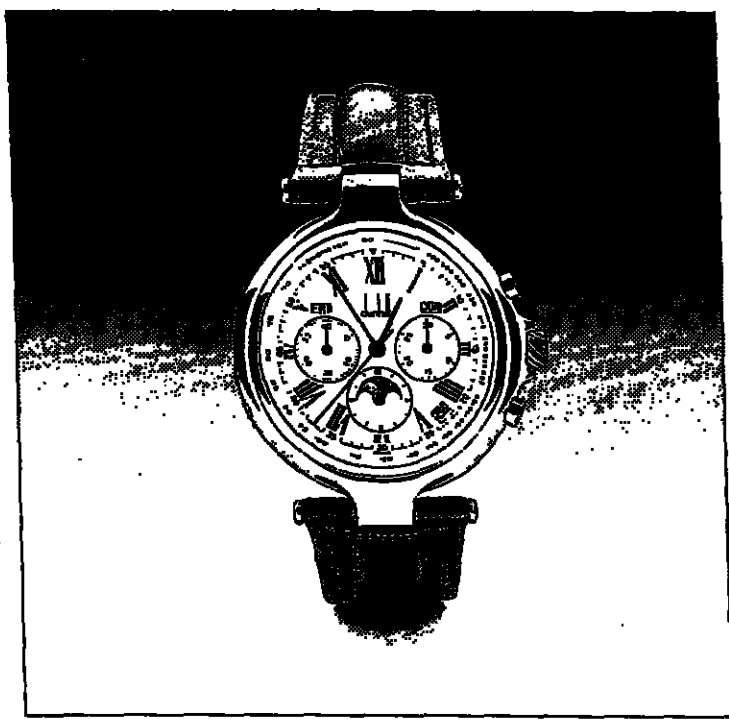
Although many health authorities have research ethics committees, there has been concern that some patients have taken part in trials without being fully informed of the implications. In addition,

student nurses have participated in trials to supplement their income and junior doctors have been put under pressure to take part by senior doctors anxious to further their research.

Announcing the guidance yesterday Mrs Bottomley said that under the old arrangements there was insufficient accountability to the public.

The guidance published yesterday says: "Payment in cash or kind to volunteers should only be for expense, time, and inconvenience reasonably incurred." The document makes clear that no one should be made to participate in a research study against his or her will or be put under pressure to do so. Research using children should be minimal and only carried out where the information cannot be obtained from adult subjects.

The government is to allocate a further £8 million in bridging loans to allow health authorities to build community projects for the mentally ill before large institutions are closed and sold off.



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Making a clean sweep catches on in the streets

By ROBIN YOUNG

THE brewers Taylor Walker are scouring the streets of London in search of the street cleaner of the year. Last year's competition attracted hundreds of entries and was voted a success that the brewery's parent company, Allied-Lyons, has decided to sponsor similar contests in other areas, including Yorkshire, Bristol, Wolverhampton and Glasgow.

"We are keen to improve the image of the street cleaner and to make people realise what a valuable and arduous task it is," said Elizabeth Payne, of the Tidy Britain Group, which helps to judge the cleanliness of workers' sweeping. "Last year we found

a real gem of a street cleaner as winner, a woman called Beatrice Whitlock who leads a team of ten cleaners in the London borough of Tower Hamlets. They have a real pig of a beast, including the Roman Road street market, but Beatrice leads from the front, often working in her own time to make sure the job gets done properly. Many of the market stallholders nominated her."

The feminine touch is not yet a commonplace, though the London borough of Hackney has a team of five who tackle everything that an impoverished neighbourhood can throw at its streets, from Kentucky Fried Chicken packs to dead horses. Andrea

Daines, cleaning manager for the contractors BFI Wastecare in the southern half of Kensington and Chelsea, said: "We have four women, including one chargehand, in a street-cleaning force of 140. I was originally hired to be transport manager, but that job did not become available so I was made a cleaning supervisor instead. I still go out with a broom and barrow if we are short-handed, because I do not think you should ask anyone to do something you are not prepared to do yourself."

Robert Seear, operations director of MRS Environmental Services, the street sweepers for the City of Westminster, said: "It's a very basic

job and it pays about £170 a week, but many people would not want to do it even if it paid twice as much. We're trying to lift the image with more mechanisation and smarter uniforms, but at present more people who get a job with us do not turn up on the Monday morning than do. We have all types, from near down-and-outs to graduates."

Dog dirt and autumn leaves are accepted as part of the job, but the hardest to take, the cleaners say, is the uncaring attitude of those who treat their efforts with contempt, dropping litter on all sides. The prize awaiting London's street cleaner of the year is £2,000 and there are £250

prizes and certificates for runners-up. Last year about 15 certificates of commendation were issued. Several have since been sighted proudly stuck on the side of the honoured cleaners' barrows.

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Conflict spreads to Zagreb as bomb blasts Jewish centre

FROM ROBERT SEELY IN ZAGREB

destruction in Yugoslavia "dirty war" reached its peak in Zagreb, yesterday, when a bomb exploded in the Jewish cultural centre, killing three people and wounding 16 others. The Croatian government, led by President Stipe Mesic, the federal president and himself a Croat, resigned at today's meeting of the collective federal presidency. "We are less and less optimistic but things are clearly dependent on developments. If there are fruitful discussions then there is no need for the president to resign," said Ante Babic, a government spokesman.

Black pupils to occupy schools

FROM RAY KENNEDY IN JOHANNESBURG

children will today occupy three empty former primary schools in Johannesburg in an attempt to force the government to accept a new education policy. The policy, announced yesterday by President de Klerk and Mr Mandela, government and ANC delegates. The two leaders were scheduled to discuss progress made by a joint working group since they held a similar meeting in February. Also on the agenda was discussion of a recently released educational renewal strategy document issued by the government. This proposes non-racial education on by black pupils of schools, two primary high, would be symbolic last only for

intention of the campaign to embarrass the government and illustrate its readiness to education crisis," he said. The schools would be permanently in the year beginning in 1992 if the government did not make them for non-racial education. Msane added. The campaign could result in a situation where white pupils who recently at primary schools in the three schools. He said yesterday that the police, who have been ordered to clear the schools, would get only to law and order. The Transvaal African parents' association said in a statement yesterday that 208 African parents in its Ventersdorp branch had voted in favour of whites-only schools at a recent meeting. Only two were in favour of racially integrated education.



Pulling Yank: enthusiasts in period costume hauling a replica of the 18th-century galleon, The Philadelphia, into Lake Champlain in Vermont. The original vessel was part of General Benedict Arnold's fleet during the War of American Independence

Sydney rampage brings gun ban

FROM ASSOCIATED PRESS IN SYDNEY

MILITARY assault weapons were banned in New South Wales yesterday after the shopping centre rampage on Saturday in which eight people were killed by a man described as "quiet and maybe lonely". Nick Greiner, the state premier, said it was ridiculous for weapons that could not be imported into other states to be available in New South Wales.

Police said Wade John Frankum, aged 33, a taxi driver, stabbed a girl, aged 15, to death in a coffee shop at the Strathfield Plaza shopping centre. He then pulled a military-style semi-automatic rifle out of a cardboard cylinder. He killed four people in the cafe and two others as he fled to a roof-top parking area. After peering a nearby railway station with bullets, injuring several people, he briefly took a woman driver hostage, but let her go before shooting himself in the head. Bob Hawke, the federal prime minister, immediately said he would begin negotiations with state governments to adopt uniform gun laws. Frankum used a Chinese-made SKS rifle to fire about 50 rounds of ammunition. The rifle is already banned in some parts of Australia.

Salomon scandal Vanity precedes fall of the king

John Gutfreund's fall marks an end to the machismo decade of the greed culture in the money-business of Wall Street, Charles Bremner writes

FOR the bright young traders of Salomon Brothers, the mighty bond-dealing firm now brought low by scandal, yesterday was the dawn of a new age. Their boss, John Gutfreund, resigned at the weekend. He was the swaggering master of Wall Street who set the tone for the frenzied, gun-slinging atmosphere in New York money-business that had outlived the crash of Wall Street in 1987.

In his place appeared Warren Buffett, the billionaire "Mr Clean" from Nebraska, and Deryk Maughan, his new British chief executive, whose job is to bring down the curtain on the riotous, take-no-prisoners' culture of the 1980s and restore confidence and integrity to the business of bond dealing. It was time for an end to the machismo, Mr Buffett declared.

There must be absolute insistence on the correct moral and legal behaviour," said Mr Maughan, an investment manager aged 43, who expressed his "astonishment" on Sunday at being given the job. The task of this ten-year veteran of the British Treasury reaches well beyond the business of enforcing ethics on the floors where the "young men buy for money". That was Tom Wolfe's description of his version of Salomon, the work-place of Sherman McCoy, the bond-trading hero in *The Bonfire of the Vanities*, his satire of New York life in the 1980s. An end to the macho culture of the Salomon bond rooms also amounts to another coda to the decade of greed, and it is one that could have been drafted by a dramatist, hinging as it does so heavily on the fate of Mr Gutfreund.

"Sullied Solly" hubris led to the downfall," the headline in *The Wall Street Journal* said yesterday as it concluded that Mr Gutfreund's arrogance had sown the seeds of his firm's demise. Eminences as far-ranging as Henry Kissinger and Taki, the London society columnist, were hauled in yesterday for their thoughts on the downfall of the so-called king of Wall Street and on

Police killers of student jailed

Seoul - Four South Korean riot policemen were sentenced to jail terms of up to three and a half years for beating to death Kang Kyong Dae, aged 20, a student of Myongji university, in April. The incident unleashed the worst wave of student protests in the three and a half years of President Roh Tae Woo's government.

Lee Hyong Yong, aged 21, was sent to jail for three and a half years, and Chang Kwang-Ju, 22, to three years. Two other policemen were sentenced to two years in prison. The court released a fifth riot policeman with a suspended two-year sentence.

Mr Kang's mother and sister, with about 20 mothers of other student protesters who have either been arrested or died during demonstrations, staged a protest outside the court after they were blocked from entering. "Put Roh in jail," they chanted. (AFP)

Body found

Hong Kong - Rescuers have found another body, that of a still unidentified white man, from the oil barge which sank off the south China coast last Thursday. Altogether 173 workers were rescued and 16 are confirmed dead, with six still missing.

Court killings

Islamabad - Gunmen opened fire outside a court in north-east Pakistan as ten murder suspects were being led out, killing at least 12 people, an official said. Seven of the accused, three policemen and two onlookers, died in the shooting outside the special terrorist court in the Punjab city of Gujranwala. (Reuters)

Albanian plea

Geneva - Albanian leaders are jostle pleading for urgent help from the European Union to rescue their country and from economic catastrophe, says to UN official said. "They ask us to launch an SOS to Europe works to save the nation," he said. But if Sergio Vieira de Mello, of the UN High Commissioner's office, says that the officials' pleas rather than last week. (Reuters)

Aquino opposes

Manila - Salvador Laurel, Philippines vice-president, said he would stand in presidential elections next May. Laurel, who was President Aquino's foreign minister before joining the Nationalist Party, said the government had failed to improve the economy, maintain security and end corruption. (AFP)

Britain deported

Peking - An unnamed Briton, aged 20, arrested two weeks ago for alleged drug possession, has been deported from China, but three other foreigners held for drug offences, including a second unidentified Briton, remain under investigation, according to Ian Cormack, the British vice-consul in Shanghai. (AP)

Brush hours

Tokyo - Three hundred Japanese businessmen have painted what they claim is the world's biggest picture at a sports park in Sendai City in southern Japan. The painting, depicting local scenery and legends, consists of 23,368 sheets of paper and covers 24,000 square yards. It took nine hours to complete. (AFP)

Briton is not dead Turkey

FROM REUTERS IN ISTANBUL

W Blake, a British man, was shot and an unidentified gunman the life of his office in Istanbul yesterday, it was said.

Blake, aged 33, the general manager of Imperial Union Insurance in Turkey, was shot in the head. He was taken to a hospital where he died. He was working at an anonymous calling to speak for two unions and organisations, including Dev-Sol (Workers Left) groups, responsibility, news. A colleague said he had told him he had a hit list by Dev-

ish ambassador to Sir Timothy Dainton, was shocked by the death. We don't know at this time to attribute this to the Dev-Sol, implications we have for the safety of people living here."

I have claimed to be the killings of two and a string of against Western targets in the Gulf war. John in American embassy in Turkey, which American military Turkey, was shot in Istanbul in March in claimed by Dev-Sol, said it was responsible for the killing on Feb. of an American expert, Bobbie who worked for the party that employed a local financial official said Mr Blake came when he was in hospital. Blood on walls and floor of which he was shot, an escaped.

Gandhi dithering unsettles party

FROM CHRISTOPHER THOMAS IN DELHI

SONIA Gandhi is said to be seriously considering running for parliament in a by-election in Amethi, the north Indian constituency represented for a decade by Rajiv Gandhi, her assassinated husband.

The question of whether or not Mrs Gandhi will stand is starting to unsettle the ruling Congress (I) party. It is also threatening to undermine the personal authority of Narasimha Rao, the prime minister and Congress (I) president. The party presidency is Mrs Gandhi's for the asking, but she adamantly refuses to discuss her plans despite a constant procession of politicians to her home in Delhi.

Mrs Gandhi's refusal to meet journalists, to speak in public, to talk candidly to politicians or to have anything to do with the Delhi cocktail circuit has left everybody guessing. There is increasing speculation, probably exaggerated, that she is exerting behind-the-scenes influence over the government. Such speculation is said to be deeply upsetting to Mr Rao.

No date has been fixed for the Amethi by-election, but the chances are that it will be held before the end of the year. Mr Rao is required to fight a by-election by December, since



Gandhi refusing to talk about her political plans

he is not an MP, having quit parliament because of poor health after heart surgery. He told foreign correspondents in Delhi this week: "I didn't run in the last election because I had no idea I might become prime minister. I was as surprised as anybody." He ducked questions about Mrs Gandhi, saying simply: "Let's wait and see."

Many senior members of the Congress party, however, believe the uncertainty should be removed so that Mr Rao can get on with his job without looking over his shoulder. Rajiv Gandhi's close political associates are said to be using Mrs Gandhi's name to make their presence felt within the administration, even though they have been relegated to lesser ministerial posts.

Whether Mrs Gandhi condones such tactics is not clear, but she evidently is doing nothing to stop them. Also unclear is whether she

might want, eventually, to become prime minister. Some say she may simply want to keep the Amethi seat in the family until her daughter, Priyanka, aged 20, is ready to run for parliament. The minimum age for an MP is 25. If that is so, Mrs Gandhi may have no desire for the party presidency, let alone the prime ministership.

The constant clamour among Gandhi associates to get her to take over the party is assuming almost comic proportions and is ridiculed by cartoonists, who create images of smirking Congress party members begging her to save their positions as Gandhi loyalists. Younger Congress MPs say the attempted reinstatement of the Gandhi dynasty could split the party.

Some commentators, however, are starting to talk about her "well-laid game plan", as if it were all part of a longer-term strategy.

Death in forest exposes bitterness of village feud

FROM PHILIP JACOBSON IN PARIS

THE murder of a young sheep farmer in a tiny village in the baking hills above the Côte d'Azur last weekend has revealed the darker side of life in the rural France that so entrances British visitors.

The simmering feud that culminated in the death of Pierre Leschiera, aged 33, shot in the back then battered almost beyond recognition, presents a far harsher picture of the French countryside, where lovingly nurtured grudge over land, water and hunting rights can split isolated communities for years on end.

Leschiera's first offence was to return to his native village of Castellat in 1987 with a degree in agriculture from one of the region's best colleges and with grand plans to transform the family farm by the modern techniques he had learned there. But old habits die hard in such places, and there was immediate opposition to Leschiera's purchase of a flock of 600 sheep. That soon turned to something uglier when he made it clear that hunting would no longer be tolerated on his land, and carried out his threat to shoot any dog that worried his flock.

Other areas rented, at a handsome price, by local hunters sharpened the confrontation. In no time, the fury aroused by this well-educated, assertive and - worst of all - successful young farmer was translated into fierce arguments in Castellat's narrow main street, attempts to prevent him moving his flock between pastures and anonymous death threats slipped into Leschiera's letter box.

Last February, a local beekeeper who spoke out publicly for Leschiera received a blunt warning in the shape of 50 burnt-out hives: others considered to be unduly friendly towards him could expect hard words in the village bar. But Leschiera seemed unworried, declaring in public that he would drive his opponents out of Castellat, laughing off warnings from his hard-core enemies that they would have his skin.

A few days ago, events took a more menacing turn after Leschiera hired a bulldozer to improve and enlarge his pastures. A furious clash erupted as a youth from the most bitterly hostile local clan tried to block its passage by lying down in the road. He gave up when Leschiera ordered the driver to proceed, but not before promising: "If my father

doesn't kill you, I will." This time, Leschiera reported the threat to the gendarmes, but he appears to have discounted its seriousness, even though passions were clearly running high among his enemies.

It was a fatal miscalculation: last Saturday, as he was driving his sheep along the forest path he always used, he fell into a carefully prepared ambush, leaving a wife and four-year-old daughter to mourn him.

It is scarcely conceivable that in such a tight and inward-looking little community as Castellat the identity of Leschiera's killer is unknown but, as ever, nobody is talking to the police. Among those taken in for questioning was the young man involved in the bulldozer incident and his father, although both were subsequently released.

It was left to one of Leschiera's friends, Michel Faivre d'Arctier, to pronounce the epilogue on what one French newspaper referred to as "a quarrel in the Corsican style". Everyone in Castellat knew that tension had been mounting, he observed sadly, yet who could have foretold that it would end in murder? "But looking back, it is clear now that this drama was becoming inevitable over the years."

The pocket guide to working glamour

Liz Smith reports on the bush shirt's journey from safari kit to fashion staple

The bush shirt is a fashion classic with panache. Although supposedly drab enough to blend in with the bush and designed purely for function, the khaki or sand cotton bush shirt has acquired a sophistication and glamour unrivalled by most basic items of clothing.

Ernest Hemingway never went on his safari treks among the Masai without a bush jacket. His was custom-made by the American action-wear outfitters Willis & Geiger, with an extra pocket for spectacles and a cut that skimmed his portly figure and was worn with no belt. Clark Gable, Ava Gardner and Grace Kelly all sported them in the 1950s film *Mogambo*, with far more swagger. Gable's version was baggier than Hemingway's, more military looking, with bigger pockets. John Huston's working wardrobe, whether filming in Hollywood or aboard the African Queen, was based on the multi-pocketed design that is recognised everywhere as a bush, or safari, jacket.

Yves Saint Laurent changed little in the bush jacket's traditional cut and detailing when he made safari suits chic for both sexes in 1970. For Ralph Lauren it is one of his recurring signature themes. The film *Out of Africa*, in which the bush jacket and safari vest co-starred with Robert Redford and Meryl Streep, sparked several seasons when bush jackets, jodhpurs and long skirts were de rigueur in fashionable circles, worn with old lace and a picture hat.

Katherine Hepburn complained that in the recent film *White Hunter Black Heart*, based on the making of *The African Queen*, the buttons on the bush jacket worn by Clint Eastwood (who played Huston) were leather, not horn. "John would never have used leather buttons," she said.

Willis & Geiger, founded in 1902 by Ben Willis, a British explorer, who was joined in 1928 by Howard Geiger, an American designer of sports clothing, have kitted out almost every big Amazon expedition, safari and archaeological dig this century. A Willis & Geiger bush jacket is often all the protection a chap has in the wild between himself and a rampaging cheetah. Testimonials, vouching for the toughness of a savaged W&G jacket that has left the wearer intact except for a gash or two, are cherished in the company's Lower Manhattan headquarters. Its exclusive cotton poplin is said to be ant and mosquito-proof as well as waterproof.

The cartridge pocket stitched above the left-hand breast pocket, originally designed to hold three 12 or 20 gauge shells, is still a feature of Willis & Geiger's Hemingway bush jacket, a beltless style which also has a quilted "recoll pad", to cushion a gun, on its right shoulder. These days says Burt Avedon, the former white hunter and aviator who heads Willis &



Into Africa: Ava Gardner, Clark Gable and Grace Kelly in *Mogambo*

Geiger today, "the cartridge pocket usually carries rolls of film". With ample space for lenses and assorted photographic gear, the bush jacket has been adopted as the practical uniform of every professional photographer.

Willis & Geiger's design specifications change little over the decades. Double reinforced belted pockets have inner straps, supported by both back and front seams, and are expandable to hold binoculars. Epaulettes are reinforced to carry camera straps and binoculars. All have "roll sleeves" with tab and button to hold it rolled up.

Travelling Light, the Cumbria-based company specialising in safari clothes, may not have the long pedigree of Willis & Geiger (it was established in 1987) but its Muthaiga long-sleeved jacket with four pockets, and the safari vest (photographed here and based on an old Kenyan original) and Serengeti shorts have proved themselves in action in Africa.

Freddie Markham, Travelling Light's proprietor, realised that holiday-makers had trouble buying the right clothes, so his first catalogue of bush shirts, trousers, divided skirts, shirts and shorts, was mailed to safari customers of Abercrombie & Kent, the travel agent. "Our customers want practical clothing. They don't want silly Empire shorts but nor do they want anything high fashion."

Its catalogue, available from Travelling Light, Morland House, Morland, Penrith, Cumbria CA10 3AZ (09314 488), lists the weight of every finished garment - every ounce counts in the heat. Travelling Light also has three shops: in Malmesbury, Wiltshire; Bletchingley, Surrey; and its home base in Morland, Cumbria. The clothes also sell at Harrods, Farrows in Pall Mall, Scout Shops in Victoria and the YHA Adventure Shop in Covent Garden. It even exports to America. Willis & Geiger's home territory.

Mr Markham's wife, Suzie, is in

charge of adapting traditional safari designs for today's needs. Travelling Light's 265g cotton twill is Italian, light enough to feel cool but strong enough not to lose its shape or fall to bits after repeated washing. Pockets are reinforced with extra stitching. Epaulettes have a cross stitch on



Travelling Light's safari vest: based on a Kenyan original

corners. Travelling Light's safari vest (£49.95) and photographer's vest (£69.95), bristling with loops and zips, have spacious belted pockets.

Holland & Holland, the gunsmiths established in Bruton Street, London W1, since 1835, can kit British sportsmen with a pukka-looking British-made cotton safari jacket with epaulettes, horn buttons and belted pleats at the back. A pair of inverted pleats at the back are held in with a half belt. The price is £65 for the short-sleeved version, and £70 for long sleeves.

R.M. Williams, purveyors of rugged riding clothes to bushmen in the Australian outback, has moved from its original London shop, opened in Knightsbridge in 1889, to 179-181 Regent Street. Its bush shirt - it is very much a shirt with two pockets and not a jacket with four - is priced from £29.50.

The best value in bush jackets is found at Laurence Corner, the shop opened in 62-64 Hampstead Road, London NW1, in 1954 to sell government surplus clothing. Its authentic-looking khaki bush jacket, photographed right, with long-sleeves or short (but only in sizes up to 37in) costs £15.86.



Big game dressing: Laurence Corner's bush shirt is far cheaper than the better known versions

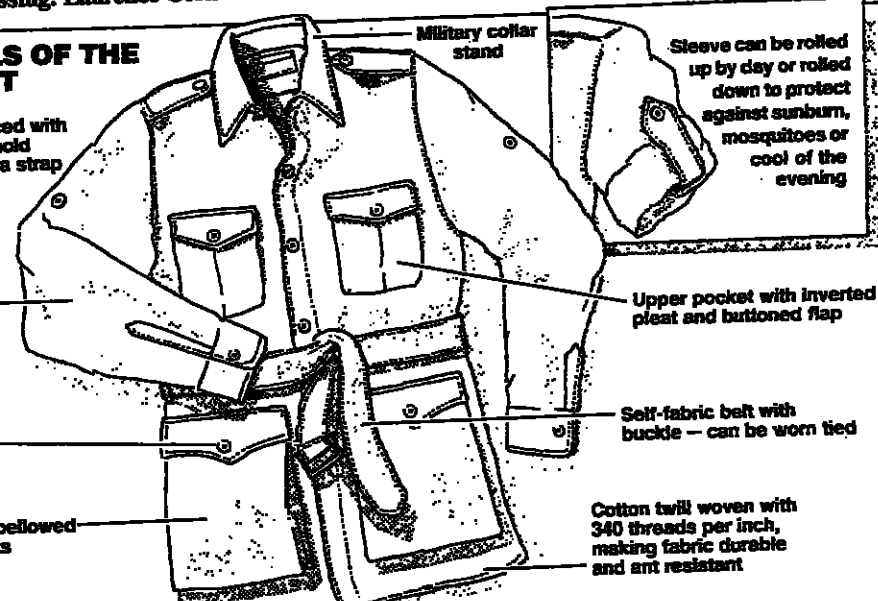
ESSENTIALS OF THE BUSH SHIRT

Epaulettes reinforced with cross stitching to hold binocular or camera strap

Shirt sleeve with buttoned cuff and placket

Horn buttons

Expandable belted patch pockets



Sleeve can be rolled up by day or rolled down to protect against sunburn, mosquitoes or cool of the evening

Upper pocket with inverted pleat and buttoned flap

Self-fabric belt with buckle - can be worn tied

Cotton twill woven with 340 threads per inch, making fabric durable and ant resistant

The Design Museum is drawing up plans to overcome a cash crisis

A blueprint for tough times

When the Design Museum opened just over two years ago, the talk was, unsurprisingly, of design. The museum's then chief executive, Stephen Bayley, even went on *Noggin* to beat the drum. Now the talk is rather quieter down in Butlers Wharf. And it is about money.

The museum is cutting expenditure from £2 million to £1.5 million for the financial year starting in April 1992. The trustees this month agreed to make redundant five of the 32 staff, reduce next year's exhibition programme, slim the publishing operation and reduce the library service.

The museum, like all arts organisations, has been hit by the recession. But it pleads a special case for government funding. Damian Whitmore, the museum's head of development, says: "It makes economic and cultural sense for the government to support us. Look at Japan and the benefit it derives from valuing design."

To date, about a third of the museum's funding has come from ticket sales and bar receipts and another third from industry sponsorship. The remainder has come from the government and from the Conran Foundation, a charitable trust set up by Sir Terence Conran.

Attendances are up 15 per cent this year to 170,000, raising about £300,000. Sir Terence continues to support the museum, despite the serious financial difficulties of his Butlers Wharf development of housing, shops and offices.

Sir Terence estimates that he will have given roughly £12 million to the museum since its fledgling days in the basement of the Victoria & Albert Museum. Through the Conran Foundation, he provided the £7 million capital costs of the white 1950s building on the south bank of the Thames. The foundation gave a further £800,000 over three years. The period ends next March. Thereafter the foundation will contribute £200,000 a year for three years.



Mrs Thatcher and Sir Terence at the museum's opening

That leaves sponsorship. "We're living in a recession," says Wally Olins, another of the museum's trustees and chairman of the design consultancy Wolff Olins. "A substantial proportion of the museum's budget is from sponsorship, but companies themselves are in trouble."

The number of £1,000 corporate members from the design community who have signed up with the corporate membership scheme has fallen from 25 companies last year to about 12 this year.

The most generous sponsors are foreign. Fiat has committed £100,000 a year for five years and funds the

idea," Sir Terence says. "Only staff at the museum would make the decision if a product should be exhibited. It's inconceivable that there would be a possibility of paying to get some ghastly object in."

Finally, there is the government. Funding totaling £650,000 from the Department of Trade and Industry was guaranteed for only the first three years. Three weeks ago, Helen Rees, the museum's director, and Sir Terence met Edward Leigh, an industry minister, to ask for an extra £150,000 for next year. In contrast, the Design Council, responsible for promoting British design in British industry, received about £6 million from the DTI this year.

"It's not a question of crying 'unfair'," Mr Olins says. "The Design Council does one job and we do another."

The museum says it has suffered by falling between several departments. "I think government reluctance and intransigence is explained by the fact that we straddle many bodies and are not the clear child of any one ministry," Sir Terence says. He welcomes Labour's plan for "Design for the 90s" which suggests that each ministry should have a minister responsible for design and its funding.

Mr Olins believes the design industry needs to create a single body to represent it. He says people are confused by the number of design bodies. "Nor is there a clear definition of what the design constituency consists of. Does it include engineers, for example?"

Mr Olins, in conjunction with Christopher Lucas of the Royal Society of Arts, hopes to set up a Design Forum, an independent body with representatives from all of the design bodies to negotiate with the government. "We would then all speak with one voice," Mr Olins says.

RACHEL KELLY

SUSAN SKEEN'S SHELLS FOR

EHRMAN TAPESTRY



Shells and Seashore flowers in corals, creams and dove greys are set off by deep azure blue central star surrounded by an inner border of pale sky blue and an outer border of sandy yellow. It is a lovely fresh tapestry by Susan Skeen for the summer and would fit well in any setting.

The design measures 14" x 14" and is printed in the full ten colours on 13 holes to the inch canvas to capture the detail. It can be worked in half-cross or tent stitch and enough 100% pure wool from the Appleton range is included to complete the tapestry in either. The kit comes complete with canvas, wool, needle and instruction leaflet. All for £32.50 including postage and packing. Use FREPOST - no stamp needed.

FOR QUERIES ABOUT DESPATCH TELEPHONE 0754 606414 (Thames Kits Ltd, 11-13 Lancer Square, London W8 1LP, Regent St, W8 5NF). Please allow 28 days for delivery. Money back if kit returned unused within 14 days.

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مكتبة الامن الاسلامي

Georgian drama

THE playwright Alan Bennett turns to the tragic life of George III for his latest play, which receives its premiere at the National Theatre in November. *The Madness of George III* is based on the story of the king who, in 1788, began to show symptoms of the mental derangement that eventually led to the Regency. This will be Bennett's third play for the National, following his earlier successes with *Sir Giles* and his adaptation of *The Wind in the Willows*. Nigel Hawthorne stars in *The Madness of George III*, which previews at the Lyttelton from November 21.

Act of faith

A NEW opera by the British composer Robert Saxton, to be premiered at the Huddersfield Contemporary Music Festival in November, is the result of a partnership between the festival and Britain's leading showcase of new music — and Opera North. The specially commissioned chamber opera, entitled *Caritas*, is based on Arnold Wesker's play of the same name which the playwright revised for the composer. *Caritas* is set in the 14th century at the time of the peasant uprising and mixes political drama with the spiritual crisis of a young girl who chose to be imprisoned for her faith. Saxton's first opera is premiered at Wakefield Opera House on November 21.

Last chance...

HAVING been reluctantly persuaded in marriage, the heroine of Ibsen's *The Lady from the Sea* is haunted by the feeling that she should have stayed faithful to a mysterious sailor. When the fellow re-appears, the symbolism around the tussle for her heart often defeats modern productions, but Kathryn Pogson's unpretentious moving performance at Riverside Studios (081-748 3354) creates a sympathetic and contemporary heroine. It ends on Saturday.

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EDINBURGH FILM FESTIVAL

Sense and shoestring sensibility

Britain put her best feet forward at the festival this year, Geoff Brown reports, previewing some fine films that are due for release soon

Over one entrance door, the sign on the building spelled out "Innouse". Over the other, "Filmhouse". But what are a few missing letters between friends? We knew where we were, at Filmhouse, Lothian Road: hub of Edinburgh's 45th film festival, and the last to be directed by *The Times's* own David Robinson.

The opening presentation was Frank Clarke's *Blonde Fish*, a low-budget British comedy about a lady pugilist (Margi Clarke, the director's sister) at large in New York. Few local scribes had a good word to say about this debut film by the *Letter to Brezhnev* scriptwriter, but time soon marched on, bringing better things. Britain put her best feet forward with Derek Jarman's *Edward II*, Stephen Polaski's incest drama *Close My Eyes* and Cormac McCarthy's *The Skin*.

'Jarman's imagination burns as fiercely as ever. The text is spiked with expletives, but the poetry remains'

from light, shade and moveable stone blocks. Jarman could easily have turned the piece into an Elizabethan horror show. There are a few ugly moments — blinings, throatings — but there is much more humour, even tenderness, woven into the drama. *Edward II* is a marvellous fusion between Jarman and Marklowe, two sensibilities spanning the centuries through the miracle of cinema. The film opens in London at the end of November.

Among the other new British features, *Tickets for the Zoo* stands out for its pungent simplicity and sympathetic treatment of Edinburgh's teenagers drifting towards homelessness. "What's right got to do with our lives?" malcontent Pogo says, when his orphanage chum Carol complains about society's raw deal. Yet Carol, touchingly played by young Alice Broe, still keeps a spark of optimism as she treads the downward spiral from hostel, squat, to a tragic end in a mouldy council flat. Mounting their first dramatic feature after documentary experience, Brian Crumlish and Christine Winford both maintain a strong narrative grip and point a firm finger at a system of housing and social benefit that almost guarantees victims. At a preview, one of the homeless people employed as an extra grabbed Crumlish's arm: "That was dead real — just like it is — not pretend."

Few of the British films are displaying a sunny disposition. Gilles MacKinnon's *The Glass Arena*, a BBC production, serves up the powerful autobiography of John Healy: boxer, alcoholic and prisoner, who conquered some of his inner demons through an obsession with chess. As usual with this young Scottish director, MacKinnon bears down on the action like an enraged bull. Yet no amount of fidgety camerawork can detract from Mark Ryland's perceptive, darkly humorous performance as the social misfit who abandons the alcoholic vagrant's doomed life to do battle with knights, queens and rocks.

Edinburgh's film festival began in 1946, with a documentary focus, and Robinson's "Eyes of the World" section continues the tradition, rounding up portraits of everything from Krushchev and rodeo bulls to Mexican archbishops and the Berlin Wall. To date, the most forceful film has been Fax Bahr and George Hickel's *Hearts of Darkness: A Filmmaker's Apocalypse*, an ac-



Tenderness woven into drama: Tilda Swinton and Steven Waddington in Derek Jarman's *Edward II*

count of Francis Coppola's horrendous problems making *Apocalypse Now* in the Philippines.

Disruptive forces, ranging from typhoons to Marlon Brando, do their worst. The star is replaced, then the replacement (Martin Sheen) keeps over with a heart attack. Everyone suffers their own brand of jungle fever. Frederic Forrest spends entire days believing he is in Montana with Jack Nicholson. Much footage comes from the director's wife, who kept a filmed record and taped private conversations without Coppola's knowledge. This compelling documentary has already been snapped up for British distribution.

Edinburgh prides itself on celebrating new talent. But a Martin Scorsese cannot be discovered every year, and the current "New Directors" programme offers no electrifying debut. Still, Jaco Van Dormael's *Toto le Héros*, a Cannes prizewinner from Belgium, shows

great confidence, along with the bizarre humour you might expect from a former circus clown.

The Australian director Jackie McKimmie made friends, too, with Waiting, right from its surprise opening shot of a hugely pregnant woman bathing naked in a river. The delightful Nani Hazelhurst is the egg-shaped damsel: a surrogate mother awaiting the birth in a far-flung cottage surrounded by friends. McKimmie's script swings gaily from comedy of *fezzini* manners to emotional drama, and the cast pitch in with abandon.

Among the American contingent, Hal Hartley's *Trust* scored a hit with its brusque, off-beat characters struggling towards normal domestic relationships; more on this film's curious delights when it opens in London next month. Nancy Savoca's *True Love*, a comic account of the days leading up to a Bronx wedding, made in 1989, also pleased audiences. It never quite decides whether to be a sprawling slice of life or a slick commercial package, but

offers enough bonbons for the muddle not to greatly matter. One of the delights is Annabella Sciorra (now steadily rising in Hollywood), looking fresh and natural before the beauticians got to work.

No festival worth its salt is complete without some excavation of history. Edinburgh revives Murnau's 1925 film of *Tartuffe* and presents an adorable programme of animated adverts filmed down the decades by the German Kaskelne company. There is also *Goodbye, Boys*, made in 1966 by the Soviet director Mikhail Khalik, but only recently lifted off the shelf. The boys are three Black Sea lads, due for military school at the end of the Thirties. Newsreel footage creates a powerful impression of war's imminence. Meanwhile, there are rosebuds to gather: sunlight gleams, the boys lark about and talk of a future two of them will never see. Shot in pellucid black and white, *Goodbye, Boys* unravels with the inevitability of a forgotten classic. The festival continues until Sunday.

POET'S PARTING SHOTS

By the time that Dylan Thomas's *A Visit to America* (Radio 3, Sunday) first went out in 1954, his body had long since been shipped home from New York. His funeral clashed with the projected date of broadcast, whose postponement enabled the ironies to gather rust. Here was, after all, the middle-aged boy wonder of the American lecture circuit affecting an elephantine nonchalance about the ghastliness of the very grind that was shortly to finish him off: him, chief of the "dollar-mad nightingales", the "remittance bards", being helped up the gangways of eastbound liners "like rissoles in the sand". In the event, he came back in a box and the sailors played cards on it.

According to Philip French, who introduced this instalment of the invariable compelling *Replay* series, Thomas had "one of the golden voices of British radio's golden age". The judgement sounds pessimistic: today's practitioners may have forgotten how to do stuff of this quality, but they might still learn it; there is no statute of limitations on talent.

The bronze age of cultural commentary proceeded on Sunday with the second part of *Present In Perfect* (Radio 4), in which Sir Roy Strong bores all manner of people on the vexed question of the future of the past, or perhaps the death of the present. This time, many of his interviewees evinced symptoms of chronophobia, a condition that marches hand in hand with the delusion that the passage of time is a social achievement rather than a calendrical phenomenon. If you are worried about the looming deuteromillennium, just remember that it will change nothing except the date.

Ten years hence, reproduction-furniture aces in Ipswich will still be "faking up" Sheraton, anti-historicists will still be drooping about "the way forward" (is there any alternative?) and American intellectuals resident in Britain will still be concocting tortuous paraphrases for "class".

And such as Sir Roy will still be clamouring for "a new equilibrium of yesterday and today", a Lord Mayor's phrase if ever there was one. Meanwhile, in sunny Birmingham, the Bull Ring is slated for death in the afternoon; following which, a new dawn will herald a new lunchtime.

MARTIN CROPPER

GALLERIES: LONDON

Soul in the iron, iron in the soul

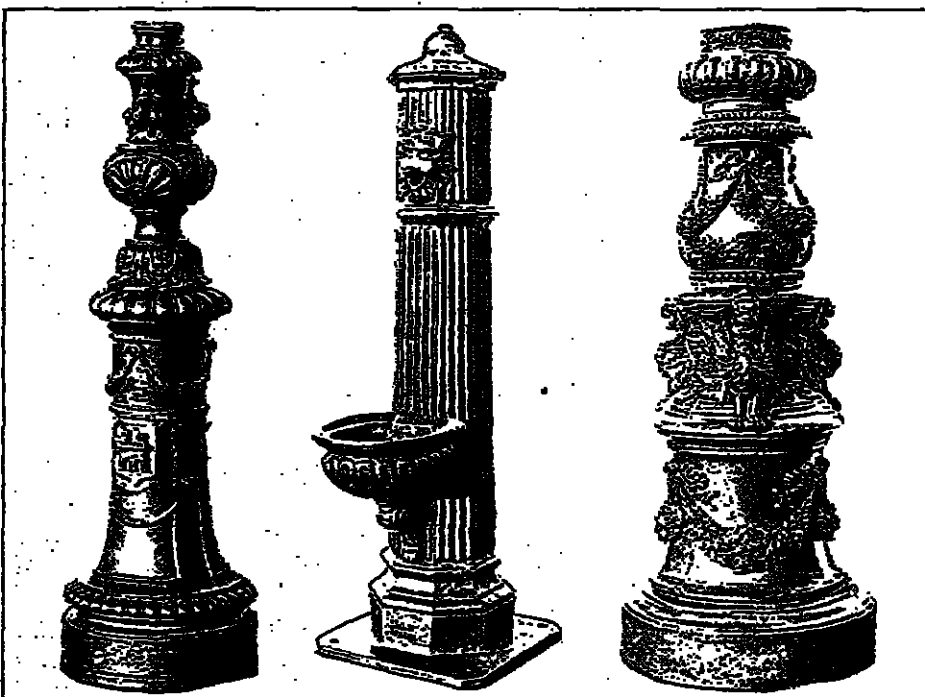
John Russell Taylor reviews a show of graceful examples of Italian street furniture, both past and present

Rarely in exhibitions do the time, the place and the loved one come together so immaculately as in *Casting an Eye on Italy*, the current show at the Accademia Italiana. The time is summer, with the sunlight streaming through the windows and filtered by trees clapping the outside exhibit becoming. The place is the Accademia in Rutland Gate, with its sugar-cane rocco plaster work for once all open to view; the loved one — loved passionately by Domenico Neri, its collector and conservator — is fancy cast-iron work from the streets of 19th and early 20th century Italy.

For one thing, the style and scale of the lamp standards, brackets, drinking fountains and such included in the show perfectly match the interior in which they are displayed. The

filly handstand, out in the garden, even serves a practical function dispensing drinks and ices, and looks as though it could always have been there. If it inspires emulation, then this will be entirely advantageous to the Neri company, which specialises in such workmanship, both reproduction and contemporary. (The one contemporary piece in the show is provided by the show's designer, Gianni Vianello, who has devised a layout at once stylish and informative.)

New cast iron may be Domenico Neri's bread and butter, but the history of it is his private passion. Not so private anyone, in that he is the moving spirit of one of Italy's newest museums, The Museum of Cast Iron Longino, in Rimini. This will house all the originals, so



Sensitively designed, if not high art: a mid-19th century fountain flanked by lamp standards from Parma, 1846 (left) and 1920s Naples, at the Accademia Italiana

carefully retrieved from unloving streets, restored and conserved. The pieces on show are all in such beautiful condition that at first one wonders if they can be examples of Neri's reproductive art. But closer inspection shows that none is, in each case decay has been arrested,

oxidation stabilised and where a part was missing its replacement has been documented up to the hilt.

One of the most fetching things about the show, in fact, is its constant juxtaposition of the actual pieces of cast iron with period photographs of the streets and piazzas in which they originally stood, so that one gets a quick survey of the social history of Italian street life as well as a vivid sense of context. But is it all worth the trouble? Are not these, very slight examples of kitsch, which look like art only through the disinfection of time?

Yes and no. Of course this is not high art. But as part of a coherent townscape, either decorating or counterbalancing the Beaux Arts architecture of the time, it does very well. And it proves to be unexpectedly versatile. The cast iron curlicues of the three-light standards which decorate the quay by St Mark's Square and the Doge's Palace in Venice look perfectly at home. So do the slim and simple lighting columns in front of Milan Cate-

dral, especially in period photographs, which show a square that is certainly transfused, but much more gainfully and harmoniously than the present featureless plains of cement.

The styles employed range from the starkly simple fluted column to the elaborate Rome-only beribboned SPQR brackets, which look like props from some cinematic extravaganza after D'Annunzio. The locations seem to have been almost equally varied, and the matching of the one to the other surprisingly sensitive.

An astonishing amount of information about all aspects of the subject can be amassed from carefully scrutinising the details of classic Alinari photographs. Photography's usefulness in capturing the life in front of the camera whole, without the painter's selecting eye, has seldom been so convincingly demonstrated.

RECORDS: BAROQUE MUSIC

Off the over-trodden track

THIS review is, you might think, a simple matter of chalk and cheese: two "commendable" issues of baroque music, slightly off the beaten track, performed by artists who advocate period-style performance practices; and a "deplorable" issue of Bach performed by artists entrenched heretically in the opposing camp. Not so. The days when pioneering experiment could be lauded for its own sake are over. Now we look for performances which convince, whatever their historical standpoint.

For all the imaginative delights of Alessandro Scarlatti's cantatas, Nancy Argenta's singing sometimes seems uninspired, the tension too slack, or the flavour doubtful rather than joyful. One instance is the *Aradican Cantata* pasted *per la nativita*, where the Chandos Ensemble's playing of the luring rhythms lacks lightness and spontaneity.

But there are also unquestionably lovely things, such as the first aria, "Ami chi t'ama", of the cantata *La dove a Mergellina* (composed in 1725, the last year of Scarlatti's life), further graced by Richard Tunnicliffe's expressive cello obbligato, or the aria "Crudel tiranno Amore", with Maya Homburger's equally eloquent violin obbligato, from *Quella pace gradita*. This is a work strongly redolent of the music that the young Handel was writing for the same Roman circles in the early 18th century. In these arias Argenta's richer, less inhibited qualities emerge.

Philip Pickett has never been one to suppress his natural, albeit carefully gauged, flamboyance. His disc with the excellent New London Consort of music by Schmelzer and Biber, two Austrian giants of the 17th century, is described on its cover not entirely accurately as "Trumpet Music". Whether trumpets are present or not, the ear is constantly tickled by the interplay of different timbres. Schmelzer's music combines vigorous, Germanic counter-

A. Scarlatti: Cantatas. Argenta/Chandos Baroque Players. EMI Reflexe CDC 7 541762 (1 CD). Biber and Schmelzer: Trumpet Sonata. New London Consort/Pickett. Decca L'Oiseau-Lyre Florilegium 425 834-2 (1 CD). Bach: Mass in B minor. Lotz/von Otter/Bloch/Witz/Shinnell/Howell/Chicago SO and Chorus. Decca 430 353-2 (2 CDs).

point with the polychoral style of earlier Venetians such as Giovanni Gabrieli, as is demonstrated by the *Sonata a 7 flauti* (recorders) and, in less academic manner, the *Balletto di spiritelli*, which contrasts recorder and string ensembles.

Among the seven sonatas by Heinrich Biber, greater splendour is found, notably in a *Sonata N 7* (1688) and in the *Sonata sacra polycarpa* 9, both scored for trumpets and continuo. The harmonic range of these works is inevitably limited, though the composer still manages some expressive music. The smaller mixed

ensemble works, such as the *Sonata a 3* (sackbut and two violins) and the *Sonata V 7 a 5* (two trumpets and violins), show Biber at his most refined, artfully contrasting instrumental idioms.

I have no quarrel with the lush flavour of the orchestral playing in Sir Georg Solti's account of Bach's Mass in B minor, recorded live in Chicago last year, though what one gains in smoothness one inevitably loses in bite. An illustrious team of solo singers — Felicity Lott, Anne Sofie von Otter, Hans Peter Blochwitz, William Shinnell and Gwynne Howell — brings to the piece a grand, though disciplined, style that works well in its own terms. But if, like me, you prefer to hear more or less the notes Bach wrote in his choruses rather than a horrible chaos of massed operatic singers, each of which adds his or her own uncoordinated vibrato, avoid this disc.

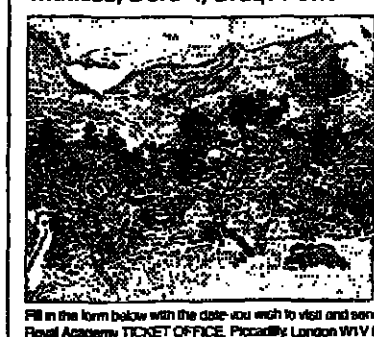
STEPHEN PETTITT

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Matisse, Derain, Braque and their Circle, 1904-1908



André Derain, *Landscape at Collioure*, 1905, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, the John Hay Whitney Collection. © ADAGP Paris/DACS London 1991.

This exhibition is organized by the Los Angeles County Museum of Art and made possible by Ford Motor Company Limited.

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A leader who changed history by unleashing forces that no tyranny can withstand

Bernard Levin

The Soviet people have tasted the spirit of liberty under Gorbachev, and cannot long be denied their freedom

Consider: only two or three decades ago, the momentous news from Moscow would inevitably have been accompanied by the slaughter of Gorbachev and his entire circle, together, probably, with his family. As I write, with events hourly treading on each other's heels, such a *battue* may yet be put in motion, but every hour that passes makes this more unlikely.

So the *encomiums* for the ousted leader must include a mighty achievement: he brought a substantial measure of civilisation to what had been, for something like 70 years, a nation of banditry, ruled by whim, fear, theft and murder. Whether he would have been able, or even willing, to make of the Soviet Union a truly democratic and fully civilised state we shall never know.

But I do know with absolute certainty two things about what has just happened. The first is that the members of the gang of thieves who have stolen power have done so not for any of the reasons they have given or will give, but to ensure that the lives they wish to continue leading — of comfortable housing, good food and drink, chauffeured limousines and foreign clothing — will be indefinitely available, no matter that the rest of the population remains ill-fed, wretchedly housed, without the barest comforts, and incessantly lied to.

My other certainty comes in the form of prophecy. I never believed that Gorbachev would be allowed to finish his task of transforming, even freeing, the Soviet Union, but only because of the resistance put up by those to whom I have referred. But although he failed to complete the opening of the shutters, those who have ousted him will never force them closed.

Here is my prophecy. Today is August 20, 1991; on or before August 20, 1996, I promise you, the thieves of power will have been overthrown in their turn, and the man who engineers their fall (perhaps Yeltsin, perhaps a re-freshed Gorbachev, more likely someone we yet know nothing of) will be the Moses who leads the Soviet people out of their bondage towards the promised land.

This is not optimism; it is a simple exercise in the examination of human nature. Cast your mind back to the day the then still enslaved East Germans came out onto the streets of Dresden in their hundreds of thousands. Honecker gave the order to start the massacre, but the crowds stood fast as the guns remained silent. Where did they find the courage? They found it within themselves, the only place courage can be found. They had sensed that their long night was over, and they were ready to die for the dawn.

Those who are ready to die are the ones who live the longest. If half a million East Germans risked death and were rewarded for their steadfastness by seeing their masters flee (as 300,000 even braver Romanians faced Ceausescu and saw their own tyrant scuttled off to his waiting helicopter), do you think that 200 million Russians, knowing what colossal power they have if they can find the courage to

use it (and they can), will be content to shuffle back into the night?

Armed resistance is possible, but unlikely. Indeed, it is unnecessary. The Russian muzhik has been famous for centuries as the solid, unimaginative figure who can be whipped till the blood runs down his back, only to be found exactly where he was when the torturer started, still repeating his one-word creed: *Nyet*.

And remember that today's muzhik, unlike his predecessors in the days of Stalin, knows about the outside world. He knows that oppression and hunger can be ended in his vast country, and he knows that the end of the oppression will end his hunger. The people of the Soviet Union know what they have lost by this coup, and they know what creatures engineered it. In a thousand ways they will set themselves to defy — by ridicule, disobedience, scorn and hate — the orders of their new but temporary masters.

Do you think that the gang who have seized power will dare to recreate the Gulag, knowing what retribution will fall upon them when they are toppled? Though they certainly have the wish, do you suppose that such a group will have the courage to re-enact the Stalin terror? They are made of no such stuff.

Their first announcement, as the coup was being concluded, was that Gorbachev had retired because of ill-health. Do they not know how that announcement alone made the people's eyes sparkle as they realised the stupidity of their newfound oppressors? A ruthless tyrant is feared; a mad one must be endured; but a stupid one (remember the Greek colonels) will be met and drink for the Russian resistance.

Freedom is addictive. One swallow (particularly on an empty stomach) makes the imbiber thirst for it for ever; there are no drying-out clinics, and the people of that mighty land tasted the forbidden liquor when Gorbachev broached the first barrel.

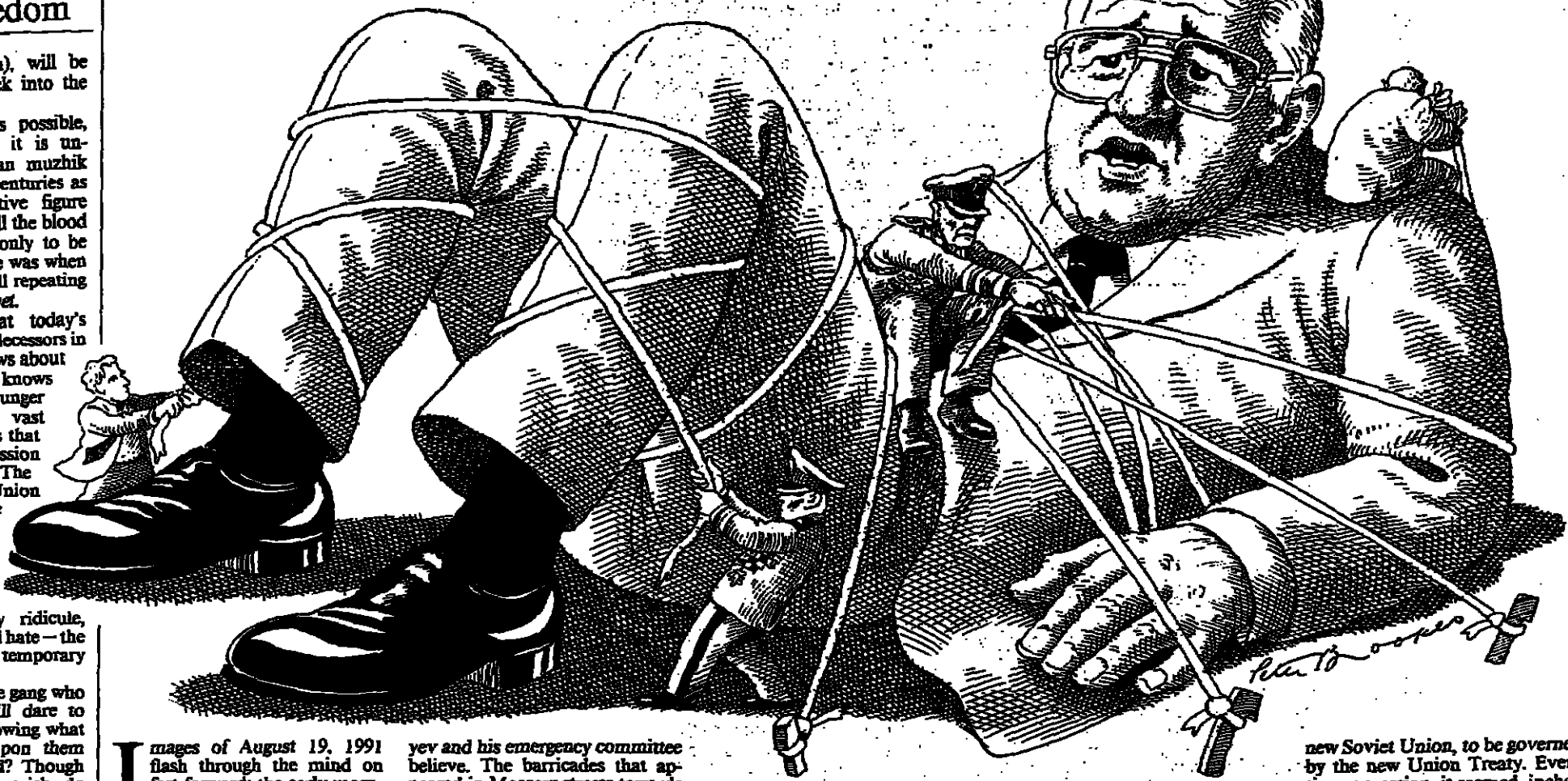
The inevitably modest number of great heroes — Solzhenitsyn, Bukovsky, Sakharov — who could only imagine freedom, and yet set themselves to defy a far greater tyranny than the new one, would laugh with the relish of getting to grips with these. The heroes of the new wave, who have known freedom, will be a vast army equipped with modern forms of communication and backed by countless sympathisers.

No doubt the new tyrants, seeing themselves despised and defied, will turn vicious; it is always the way. They do not even know that such a course will be their ruin, as the resistance is strengthened by the pressure of its enemies — whence my confidence in the shortness of the rule the new tyrants will enjoy.

Even as I write, I become more certain that my prophecy will be fulfilled. I said five years. Come, let's say four.

Toppled by the pygmies

Only with Gorbachev's fall did Russians realise his stature, reports Mary Dejevsky from Moscow



Images of August 19, 1991 flash through the mind on fast-forward: the early morning call from Australia trying to verify an improbable coup story. "The source is what? The official Tass news agency? Are you sure?" The first modest military vehicles speeding along the special central traffic lane (in Gorbachev's time, they travelled with the rest of the traffic). Solemn newsmen intoning Gennadi Yanayev's takeover statement. The coup committee's rambling appeal to the nation.

Then came the first armoured personnel carriers crossing the Kutuzovskiy bridge beneath our block of flats; the tanks drawn up in formation outside the Russian parliament; Boris Yeltsin, tanned and resolute, calling for a general strike from the top of a tank — like Lenin in 1917, said one breathless admirer.

The mixture of confusion and insecurity brought Muscovites at first hesitantly and then in anger to the barricades. The state bread lorries were diverted from their route to hand out free loaves to those preparing the resistance. This brings to mind not only Petrograd in 1917, but Paris in 1979.

Only with the loss of Gorbachev, it seemed, did Russians appreciate what had been theirs: a respected, reforming leader of world repute who was striving against 73 years of Soviet history to make his country normal. Any who were uncertain about Gorbachev's political stance had their answer yesterday when his real opponents came out of the shadows.

He was less than 36 hours away from bringing off a political coup of his own: the wholesale restructuring of a union that could no longer be held together by either exhortation or coercion. It still cannot be held together by these means, whatever Gennadi Yana-

ev and his emergency committee believe. The barricades that appeared in Moscow streets towards evening testified to that.

Yesterday's military coup, for it can be called nothing else, was accomplished in the midst of unaccustomed and uncanny political calm, when Gorbachev's victory appeared to be not only within grasp, but virtually complete. He had, it seemed, squared his fiercest opponents in the Communist party last month, persuading them to accept a programme that was only secondarily Marxist, lest a worse evil befall them, then looking on as party committees meekly left the factories. Last month he seemed to have circumvented his grasping ministers by bringing all state property under the personal control of the president.

Yet while these institutions squealed their protests, representatives of the three related structures upon which the Soviet state is built had been strangely silent: the military command, the chiefs of the KGB and the heads of the giant military industries had not spoken.

Last autumn, when Gorbachev was on the verge of accepting the rapid route to a market economy, these giants blocked his path. Their ultimatum, it was said, put the reform programme on hold, brought the law and order lobby to the fore and earned the military a brief hour of "glory" in Lithuania before they were outmanoeuvred in April.

The eight men who yesterday emerged at the head of the "emergency committee", it must now be assumed, are those formerly nameless members of the self-styled National Salvation Committee who let the tanks loose on the Lithuanian capital, Vilnius, last January.

Between the time of the Baltic crackdown and his renewal in April of his alliance with the

Democrats over the new Union structures, Gorbachev's policy can be interpreted in only one way. He did not embrace the hardliners, nor did they constrain him.

The last overt challenge to Gorbachev came in June from his prime minister, Valentin Pavlov, who mounted a clumsy attempt in parliament to draw some of the presidential powers to himself. So clumsy was this attempt at a constitutional coup that it was generally ignored. Yet a closed session of parliament heard doom-laden statements from military, interior ministry and KGB leaders, which read just like the appeal issued by yesterday's coup committee. If Gorbachev will not use his special powers, Pavlov told parliament firmly, then I will. Now he has.

Gorbachev has nerves of steel. One liberal Soviet commentator remarked that the best prospect for the Soviet Union was to leave the economy alone and allow it to rebuild itself along natural market lines. In a way, Gorbachev was doing just that, and perhaps he had no realistic alternative. But he had always tried to follow the public consensus and the historical reality rather than mould them.

Over the past year, the centralised Soviet economy has been breaking down, and the Soviet leader, apparently deliberately, took precious little action to stop it. The supremacy of the party has been collapsing too, and Gorbachev took little action to stop that either. He was trying to "manage" a transition, staying half a move ahead of his opponents and moving with the public opinion.

In the past two months, Gorbachev could be seen fighting and manoeuvring, apparently with brilliant success, for his political life and his version of a

new Soviet Union, to be governed by the new Union Treaty. Every tiny concession, it seemed, inched him closer to his goal. But he had to act fast. He had to agree a Union Treaty which offered different concessions to different republics. He had to rush through a piecemeal signing of the Union Treaty, and he had to bring it forward to the summer holiday season while his institutional opponents were unable to organise their forces.

Those leaders whom he had taken into his confidence — Yeltsin from Russia and Nursultan Nazarbayev from Kazakhstan — understood the urgency: they took their concessions and agreed to sign.

On April 23, at a mysterious meeting outside Moscow, they were apparently given a choice between a depleted, looser union bound by a treaty and no union at all. Yesterday, as Boris Yeltsin addressed the crowd from his tank, a Russian democrat and constitutional expert said with regret: "Our mistake was to delay the establishment of firm statutory guarantees for our democracy. We should have signed the Union Treaty earlier."

On August 19, one day before his new union was to have come into being, Gorbachev's time ran out. His opponents, quietly this time and with more guile, had beaten him to the line. But the stark choice remains. Either the Soviet Union becomes a smaller, looser union bound by voluntary treaty, or there will be no union at all. Yanayev's militarised unitary state is no model for the future: happiness or prosperity that Gorbachev, however diffidently, still held in his sights.

Without Gorbachev, or someone of his stature, the union will fall apart. The centre can no longer hold.

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Without Gorbachev, or someone of his stature, the union will fall apart. The centre can no longer hold.

...and moreover

CRAIG BROWN

Lord David Cecil once gave a lecture billed as "The Pleasures of Reading". As the students left the hall, he noticed his old friend Sir John Betjeman sitting towards the back. "I'm surprised to see you here, John," he said. Betjeman looked doleful. "I was expecting you to lecture on the pleasures of the city of Reading," he replied.

Every year when I see advertisements for the Reading Festival, I feel much the same as Sir John Betjeman, only in reverse. The Reading Festival is by far the most ancient annual rock music festival in Britain, perhaps in the world. It kicks off again this Friday, and as usual the advertisements and previews taunt the no-longer-young with memories of fiery enthusiasms extinguished by time.

I went to the Reading Festival in 1974, when I was 17 — half my life ago — and it was everything that I could possibly have hoped for. The day would start with the sound of "One-two one-two" booming out of the loudspeakers. This tuning up of the great banks of amplifiers could take anything up to an hour, and would be repeated at regular intervals throughout the day. Occasionally, with a spark of imagination, the man in charge of saying "One-two, one-two" into the microphone would vary this mantra with less strictly mathematical aphorisms such as "Can you hear me at the back, Gary?" Of course, the back was so far away that he was hopelessly badly positioned to find

out whether or not Gary could hear him, so that he would be forced to repeat "Can you hear me at the back, Gary?" for a full quarter of an hour, while Gary tumbled through three acres of people to get to the stage, there to mumble a disconsolate "no".

Finally, a disc-jockey would lumber on to the stage. In the mid-Seventies, disc-jockeys were going through a bearded and mysteriously unbuttoned phase, possibly in reaction to the uncorable effervescence of, say, Tony Blackburn or "Diddy" David Hamilton. They expressed enthusiasm by whispering just a little more loudly than usual, and they reserved this endorsement for acts of tantalising obscurity with bongo players, blind drummers and airy names such as Krishna's Kinetic Wardrobe or The Expanding Headband Corporation.

At 11.30 am, one such group would open the bill with a 40-minute number from a forthcoming concept album called *From the Land of Smouldering Dreams*, featuring a drum solo, a guitar solo and a bongo solo, usually all played at the same time, and lyrics which had been described by *New Musical Express* of the week before as possessing "a shattering intensity". For 12 hours, I would sit on the grass enthralled by each and every act, happy to feel myself part of a culture inaccessible to the over-30s, anyone with a mortgage, every parent in the land and anyone who wrote for *The Times*.

Somewhere in the loft is my record collection of the time, chock-a-block with records by groups such as Jefferson Airplane, Uncut Balloon, The Electric Prunes, Everpresent Fullness, Strawberry Alarm Clock, Quintessence and Purple Earthquake, their names now imbued with the obscurity and archaism that descend upon abandoned outposts of progress. One group, I remember, changed its name from The Charging Tyrannosaurus of Despair to Detroit Edison White Light Co. when its drummer refused to have anything to do with a word with such negative vibes as despair.

This weekend at Reading, the groups include Sonic Youth, Dinosaur Jr, Sisters of Mercy, the Blue Aeroplanes, Thin White Rope, and Ned's Atomic Dustbin. They mean nothing to me, but their names suggest that nothing has changed. As summer events go, one is more likely to encounter radical change at the Royal Tournament than at the Reading Festival. "One-two, one-two" will once again boom through the amplifiers on Friday morning, and Gary will still be there at the back, ears-a-cock. The disc-jockeys — these days semi-bubbly and semi-bearded — will still reserve their enthusiasm for the most obscure band, whose lyrics will have been described as "shattering intensity" by *New Musical Express*.

In a fast-changing world, it is reassuring to know that rock music remains such a potent force for stability.

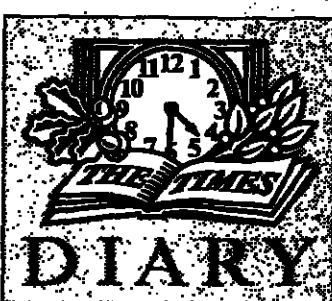
Cultural haven

LEADING Soviet artists on tour in the West who are reluctant to return home while tanks are on the streets of Moscow have been promised a sympathetic hearing by the Home Office. Defections on the scale seen in the days when the likes of Rudolf Nureyev used to defect to the West to apply for asylum are unlikely, but visas for "extended holidays" in Britain are likely to be made readily available.

"We have made no special provisions, but applications from Soviet citizens to extend their stay would be looked at sympathetically," a Home Office spokesman says. "Although this is not a war, and it is too early to say what will happen in the Soviet Union, at the time of the Gulf war we looked at applications from Kuwaiti nationals with similar sympathy."

Artistic companies currently in Britain include the Leningrad Philharmonic Orchestra and the Bolshoi Opera. The Russian conductor Gennadi Rozhdestvensky is also in London after a Proms performance.

Two further troupes are due to arrive at the end of the week and Victor Hoochauer, the impresario, is confident that visits from the Moscow Festival Ballet and the Moscow City Ballet will go ahead. "Seventy-five dancers are arriving with the City Ballet for a nine-week tour, and 47 Festival Ballet dancers will make a seven-week tour," he says. "The culture ministry has approved the trips, the visas have been issued and the tickets are paid for." How many will want to put the return portion of their ticket on hold remains to be seen. Ironically, one of the dancers, although no relation, bears the name Gorbachev.



So was it a coup? Mrs Thatcher, with perhaps just a thought of her own downfall, was definite that it was. John Major was less sure. "An unconstitutional seizure of power," he called it cautiously. "A what, you may well ask? A diplomatic description of a coup," says Sir Michael Howard, professor of military history at Yale. Other historians take the view that technically a coup involves the overthrow of a legal government by forces outside. If it was a coup, they say, it was against the state by the state. But the writers of this morning's headlines can be forgiven. Any journalist who tried to incorporate the words "unconstitutional seizure of power" into a tabloid splash would be swiftly told to seek alternative employment.

Last with the news

AMONG the last journalists in London to know that Gorbachev had gone were Soviet reporters at the Tass office in Holborn. A lone reporter was working an uneventful night shift when the telephone rang. It was a reporter from British Sky Broadcasting seeking a reaction. "To what?" asked Dmitri Voskoboinikov, aged 31, the first Tass journalist to be granted a Commons lobby pass.

He summoned Igor Schegolev, another correspondent, from his bed. Schegolev now fears for the

integrity of Tass's news-gathering operation. "We cannot exclude the possibility that our work will be censured again," he says. Tass staff are tuning into the BBC World Service for up-to-date news of events in Moscow.

At least the Gorbachevs will not have to worry about their pensions. Raisa Gorbacheva's book, *I Hope: Reminiscences and Reflections*, due to be published next month, is set to earn her anything up to £1 million. She was due to launch it at the Moscow book fair in three weeks' time. "I think we can assume she will not be turning up," says the publishers, HarperCollins. "We have already printed the book, and it will come out as if nothing has happened, but people will know."

Still his way

ONE KEY figure from the Gorbachev years who has no intention of being sidelined is Gennadi Gerasimov, the slick former Soviet foreign ministry spokesman and "spin doctor" to the former president. Now ambassador to Portugal, Gerasimov, who gave us such phrases as the "Sinatra doctrine" to describe how Eastern European countries moved away from Moscow, was yesterday insisting on referring to his new boss as "acting President Gennadi Yanayev".

Gerasimov says he issued a warning to his old boss, nine months ago in Washington that his domestic policies were likely to lead to his downfall. "I have always said that Gorbachev did not win the Nobel prize for economics." But will the man who was Gorbachev's mouthpiece for so long stay on under the new regime?

"Why not?" Gerasimov asks. "I may have been associated with Shevardnadze and Gorbachev,

but I have a job in my own right that keeps me busy." In any case, says the ambassador, officially he has not yet been informed that there have been any changes in the Kremlin. "I can only assume it is in the post."

Club sandwich?

HEAVEN KNOWS what the gentle folk of Hovingham, a quiet little country town tucked away in the rolling hills of North Yorkshire, think of the holiday fayre at their local hotel. Their usual plain English cooking of meat and two veg has been replaced temporarily by the finest haute cuisine, courtesy of the chef from Boodle's.

With the doors of the St James's club closed for August, Sir Marcus Worsley, Lord Lieutenant of North Yorkshire, and owner of the Worsley Arms, decided he could not do without his favourite dishes and hired Perry Schermuly, aged 21, the first commis chef at Boodle's. "It is the other end of the spec-



trum, with completely different clients," says Schermuly. "I have put escalope of salmon on the menu, which has gone down well, but people up here have not taken to my vol-au-vents." Perhaps he should call them Yorkshire Puddings.

هكذا امتنا اصل



ON GUARD

Mikhail Gorbachev is gone. A committee backed by the KGB and the army command, with a figurehead president, is in charge in the Soviet Union. Mr Gorbachev's reformist balancing act, like Mr Khrushchev's before him, has ended in defeat. The great overthrewer of idols has himself been overthrown under cover of night by men whom he himself appointed.

To call what happened yesterday in Moscow a coup is facile. Mr Gorbachev had failed in the central task of any leader, to clothe himself in popular legitimacy. He fell as his forerunners fell, at the hands of a cabal in which control of the army and secret service was crucial. He fell because he could not reconcile the nationalist ambition of the Soviet republics with the Communist-military nexus in Moscow. He fell on the eve of the signing of a Union treaty that threatened that nexus by devolving real economic power to the republics.

If Mr Gorbachev indeed remains toppled — and it is early days yet — he will be the only post-revolutionary Soviet leader to merit a favourable political obituary. He put East-West détente into practical effect. His may have been an idea whose time could no longer be postponed, but he officially ended the cold war, abolished the Iron Curtain, speeded disarmament, helped the United States police Third World conflicts and extended economic and political freedom to millions in Eastern Europe. His Nobel peace prize was deserved.

Even within his own country, he offered the Soviet people a more genuine democracy than any in their history. He limited his army's outreach, both in Afghanistan and in Eastern Europe. Whether deliberately or not, he showed Moscow's oligarchs that the Soviet republics had to be granted a measure of autonomy or the Union would become ungovernable, a lesson his successors may yet have to learn for themselves. Above all, he gave the Soviet people a glimpse of a new dawn, of free speech, of travel, of international contact and of cultural expression. He freed his people from dread of capitalism, even if he did not get them to shake it by the hand. It is easy now to say that he had no option: but his predecessors had the option and rejected it.

It would be wrong to overstate the reforms that Mr Gorbachev achieved within the Soviet Union. The Soviet people eventually responded with cynicism to his leadership, confirming Tocqueville's famous thesis that it is when an authoritarian system begins to reform itself that it is most vulnerable. People expect more than can be delivered and turn to any alternative in the belief that gains can come faster. That does not mean, however, that they will rally to a new dictatorship.

Yesterday's events are an x-ray of the real power structure within the Kremlin in the late-Gorbachev era. The Soviet public, so uncertain about Mr Gorbachev, can at least be certain about his successors. It will have to take sides between the "State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR" and the elected leaders of the republics. It will have to choose between the militarised communism of the Soviet Army, the troops of the interior ministry and the KGB on the one hand, and the imperfect, embryonic but still functioning democratic institutions put in place by Mr Gorbachev on the other.

The regime's first decree stamped on these institutions before they could rally to the call for resistance issued by Boris Yeltsin, who has demanded Mr Gorbachev's reinstatement. It will clearly have no truck with glasnost. Just possibly the regime may follow the ideological path mapped out by military theorists such as Colonel Viktor Alkin, of "enforcing capitalism at the point of a gun". Some form of Union treaty may even be refashioned, if only to forestall bloody conflicts round the southern and western regions of the union.

But this is unlikely. These are hard men of the old school. They have moved to suppress political freedom, crush republican institutions and re-establish economic centralism. They are cutting prices, raising wages and resuming state control of distribution. Since many in the army and KGB are known to be sceptical of the party's ability to manage the economy, the likelihood is of a fierce

struggle on economic policy. Coups do not cure bankruptcy. This toppling of Mr Gorbachev looks like the Communist party's last throw. The party has been enervated by his leadership. It is discredited and discreditable. Whether the army can prop it up, indeed whether the army wants to prop it up, must be open to doubt. Disorder in the republics, anarchy even in Moscow, may be followed by the refusal of the Soviet Army to shoot at crowds.

While other forces are available to the new leadership, one of the Union's most legitimate democratic leaders, Russia's Mr Yeltsin, has openly invited all soldiers to mutiny. Local army units in the Baltic, the Ukraine and Caucasus may need no invitation. There is a real possibility of the Soviet Union having a number of quasi-governments for some time. Local military leaders may well have to reach deals with local politicians in regions where Communist authority has all but collapsed.

Sooner or later, the new rulers in the Kremlin will need outside help and at that point their leverage over their own opposition groups will weaken. The recent G7 summit was not just Mr Gorbachev's last plea for help, it was a rare show of desperation on behalf of his entire country. Nothing the West might have done would have saved him. But the Soviet Union's suppliant status remains.

President Bush and the leaders of the European Community must therefore be as explicit today as they were then. The West made it clear that any interference with the existing steps towards free markets or with the democratic institutions in the republics will undermine economic and political co-operation. This interference has now occurred. The partnership which the West offered Mr Gorbachev at the G7, including IMF membership, was predicated on progress towards civil and political rights, including the Union treaty that should have been signed this week.

Partnership is in abeyance. If the new regime now suppresses uprisings, it can expect total economic and diplomatic quarantine. Last night's declaration by Presidents Bush and Mitterrand, John Major and Chancellor Kohl, making food and technical assistance for the Soviet Union conditional on continued adherence to Mr Gorbachev's policies, was a useful first warning shot. Guarantees of the freedom and safety of Mr Gorbachev and Mr Yeltsin are no less essential.

Mr Gorbachev, if he did nothing else, told his countrymen that they were no match for the West, that Soviet autarky was not an option. The new regime's promises to honour all international commitments reflect the KGB's knowledge of Soviet weakness. The West has correspondingly great leverage within the Soviet Union than at any time since the second world war. That leverage should be used. Too much has been won under Mr Gorbachev to be sacrificed now. The demilitarisation of Europe, the de-escalation of nuclear weapons, the establishment of a new world order are gains of immeasurable importance. Every peaceful weapon in the West's armoury should be deployed to sustain them.

The American Congress will now refuse to ratify the recently signed START treaty, but conventional force reductions in Europe must also be in question. Even under Mr Gorbachev, the Soviet army was cheating on the CFE treaty terms. There is no reason to believe the Soviet Union will submit to the verification procedures on which this treaty depends. Regimes that behave like this one have no right to the trust of the outside world.

The only certainty at present is uncertainty. Poland has not reached agreement on the withdrawal of Soviet forces; Germany is nervous that its agreement might not be honoured. Central Europe would be ill-served if NATO did not adjust its current thinking in the direction of greater caution. The coming months could show that much of the alarm at yesterday's events is ill-founded. For the time being alarm is prudent. As Russia plunges once again into one of its age-old agonies, the outside world must watch and wait — but wait on guard.

HESELTINEVILLE

If Michael Heseltine has his way, London will end up looking like a keyhole on its side, with development expanding eastwards and outwards along the river to Southend and Sheerness. The environment secretary has stuck his toe in the Thames to test reaction to what would be the most ambitious urban regeneration attempted in Britain. Local councils gave the plan a cautious but warm welcome; local MPs were at best tepid.

Mr Heseltine also wants to win back political points in the Tory strongholds west of London — in Oxfordshire, Berkshire and Hampshire — where pressure to build new towns has seemed unstoppable. As soon as one proposal is hit on the head, another bobs up to take its place.

Development of the East Thames Corridor might impede the westward and northward drift that risks making a continuous suburb of some of southern England's prettiest countryside. Much of North Kent and South Essex, by contrast, is charmless, and the area is on the same side of London as the Channel tunnel. At least some is industrial wasteland.

Such grand thinking has its dangers. The ideological fixity that led to the overblown development of London's Docklands was in the tradition of extravagant public spending and social engineering that expelled tens of thousands of Londoners to unattractive new

towns in the 1950s. Neither market forces nor careful town and country planning were allowed to guide development. The message was tax incentives and public spending boom or bust. The gainers were the construction lobby, and the price was paid in loss of open space, big tax bills and the denuding of inner city communities.

There is a suspicion that Mr Heseltine has been won over by the development lobby to concede greenfield land in Essex and Kent for housebuilding which ought to be directed to derelict sites in already developed areas. Most developers do not want renewal, and if they have to take it, demand large amounts of infrastructure to attract up-market residents. They must be baulked. Green land in the South-east is in acutely short supply and is not for the taking.

Mr Heseltine, when last environment secretary, wanted to revitalise the north of England so as to stem the drift to the south. He now wants to revitalise the east of London to stem the drift to the west. Fine, but he should achieve it through his old maxim, that the place for new towns is in old cities. Development is directed to them by simply refusing it where it is not wanted. No stretch of the estuary wants to see a ribbon of Thamesmeads, a chain of Carbuncles-on-Thames where now is virgin land.

Why sport does not need a lottery

From the Secretary of the Pool Promoters Association

Sir, I hesitate to pour cold water on the enthusiasm of your recent correspondence (August 10, 16) but the assertions made in favour of a national lottery are not supported by the facts.

Councillor Hani (August 16) claims that football pools and national lotteries can co-exist. On the contrary, the experience from virtually all countries which have introduced lotteries into a market which contains pool betting (especially Australia, Belgium and Greece) has been that football pools decline as the state makes sure its own competition swallows up its rival.

This would be especially true in Britain, where the market is already more crowded with gambling operations than anywhere in Europe — the level per head per week in the UK, according to the Home Office minister, is £4.50. The figure is twice that of France and Germany, and four or five times as great as other EC countries.

The implications are obvious for the Eschequer, which takes £300 million a year in pool betting duty, for British football which receives £40 million p.a. from pools-based sources, and for other sports and the arts which will enjoy a new income of £60 million-plus from the recently established Foundation for Sport and the Arts.

The council's claim that up to 40,000 new jobs would be created by a lottery in Britain is less unrealistic than the Lottery Promotion Company's 85,000 figure, but is still wrong. The principal lottery in Germany employs fewer than 200 people; over 6,000 are employed directly by Britain's three football pool companies (virtually all in the high unemployment areas of Glasgow, Liverpool and Cardiff), and there are also 100,000 pools collectors.

For a national lottery to succeed in Britain would require one of two things to happen: either there would be an explosion of new gambling expenditure, with money taken from other household spending — an outcome at odds with long-established government policy that the level of gambling in this country should not be deliberately stimulated or allowed to proliferate — or money would be switched from existing operations, such as horse-race betting and small charities, as well as football pools.

We agree with the view taken by the 1978 Royal Commission that "the pools are in a sense a national lottery run on behalf of the Exchequer" — especially now that the Foundation for Sport and the Arts has been established — and believe that no convincing case has yet been made for a lottery.

Yours faithfully,
ROGER CALVERT, Secretary,
The Pool Promoters Association,
100 Old Hall Street, Liverpool 3.
August 16.

Song and dance

From Dr Tim Healey

Sir, Craig Brown ("... and more over", August 12) seems to have been living in a different world to the rest of us. It seems to me that there is hardly a corner of this overcrowded island that does not have a song about it.

Without leaving the North-east, we can have On Ilkley Moor baht 'at, Sweet Lass of Richmond Hill, 'In gonna leave old Durham Town, Blaydon Races — then over the border to The Bluebells of Scotland, taking The Road to the Isles, then Over the Sea to Skye.

Then there is The Day We Went to Blackpool, The Miller of Dee, The Lincolnshire Poacher and The Ram of Derbyshire. Further south, we have Lamorna, Pirate Smith of Bristol, Barbara Allen (of Plymouth), Sussex by the Sea, The White Cliffs of Dover, Chevy Chase, The Land of the Leaky, and so on.

These are examples enough. Yours sincerely,
TIM HEALEY,
Northfield,
Salisbury Street,
Barnsley, South Yorkshire.
August 13.

From Dr R. L. Marshall
Sir, It is clear that Craig Brown does not "belong to Glasgow" — and unlikely that Glasgow will ever belong to him.

Yours faithfully,
R. L. MARSHALL,
Holly Cottage, 15 Beacon Road,
Woodhouse Eaves,
Loughborough, Leicestershire.
August 13.

An overdue reform

From Sir Denis Dobson, QC

Sir, In your obituary notice of Mr Justice Lincoln (August 14) you mention that in 1978, before his elevation to the Bench, he chaired a "Justice" committee on freedom of information, which produced what you describe as a notable report. May I, as one of the surviving members of that committee, urge that the recommendations, which were widely welcomed at the time, should now receive further and more sympathetic consideration at the hands of those at whom they were directed.

The committee, like most people who have grappled with this problem, was convinced that the processes of government are attended with excessive and unnecessary secrecy. To overcome this, it recommended the introduction of a code of practice which would apply to all

Renewable energy as weapon against global warming

From the Chairman of Nuclear Electric

Sir, The approach of the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development — the so-called "Earth summit" — has heightened debate on global warming. Britain has an excellent opportunity to take the lead in this debate and, at the same time, to show the most effective ways to tackle global warming. There are a number of solutions to hand.

The government's recent decision to step up its work on renewable energy sources is welcome; these have an increasing part to play in meeting our energy needs and increased efficiency in the use of energy can play a similar role. But it is unrealistic to expect renewables and energy conservation on their own to reverse the long-run growth in consumption of fossil fuels.

The nuclear option has so far gained less attention in this debate. All too often, nuclear electricity has been seen falsely as part of the environmental problem. In fact, too, it is part of the solution. Nearly 20 per cent of Britain's electricity comes from nuclear power. Each production of this electricity, unlike that produced from coal or other fossil fuels, produces negligible CO₂ emissions.

If the worldwide production of electricity from nuclear stations was replaced by coal-fired stations, an extra 1,700 million tonnes of CO₂ would be discharged annually into the atmosphere — an increase on current discharges from electricity generation of 25 per cent, about a per cent increase in total CO₂ discharge.

If nuclear power was abandoned, all the new contributions to meeting energy needs from efficiency savings and increased use of renewables would be taken up replacing the lost nuclear sources. It would leave untouched current levels of CO₂ being discharged by fossil fuels.

What is called for is an approach that reduces CO₂ emissions, shifts energy use away from fossil fuels to non-fossil sources and encourages efficiency. The best way to achieve this in a competitive market place is through the price mechanism, in particular through a tax on carbon-emitting fuels. Policymakers round

the world are now actively considering this approach.

Such a tax would begin to tackle the question of energy efficiency and provide an incentive to reduce CO₂ emissions. It would also, in so far as CO₂ emissions are concerned, extend the widely-supported principle that the polluter should pay.

Such an approach across the industrialised world, not just in Britain, would make a significant environmental impact as the change in relative prices shifted use from fossil to non-fossil fuels. If Britain were to press for this approach at next year's Earth summit, we would take a real, practical, achievable lead in combating global warming.

Yours faithfully,
JOHN G. COLLIER, Chairman,
Nuclear Electric plc,
Barnwell Way,
Barnwood, Gloucester.

From the Director of the Association for the Conservation of Energy

Sir, There was a complete consensus amongst the letters you printed today on energy policy — from academia, from Parliament, from the environment movement. Each concluded that the first priority should be to concentrate upon using our fuel far more efficiently than at present.

Such unanimity of views has become commonplace, and is echoed in practically every relevant official document issued since the last election.

It might therefore surprise your correspondents to learn that over the past two years, investment in energy-efficiency equipment — in insulation, thermostats, energy-management systems — has actually declined by 28 per cent. It can be no coincidence that last year, despite an overall drop in our gross national product, Britain's energy consumption actually went up. As a consequence, so did the amount of carbon dioxide we produced, carbon dioxide being the main contributory gas to global warming.

There is a long, long way to go. Yours faithfully,
ANDREW WARREN, Director,
Association for the Conservation of Energy,
9 Sherlock Mews, W1,
August 12.

Keeping the faith

From Ms Daloni Carlisle

Sir, Further to Bernard Levin's attack on the National Union of Journalists ("A union marching to oblivion", August 15) may I give you an example of its cost-effectiveness?

Under the union agreement where I work there are a range of benefits on offer only to members of the NUJ — the only recognised trade union. These include a three-month sabbatical every three years. In cash terms alone this is worth an extra month's pay every three years. This sum far outweighs the cost of my NUJ subscription of £120 a year and is only one example of the tangible benefits of NUJ membership.

This agreement was won by a strong union. It is maintained by a strong union (there is 100 per cent membership in my chapel) and a management sympathetic to good industrial relations.

I agree with Mr Levin that being

an activist in a trade union is boring and I, too, wish more people would be involved. By throwing in his hand and with it his membership card Mr Levin makes this all the more unlikely.

Yours fraternally,
DALONI CARLISLE
(Mother of the NUJ Chapel),
Nursing Times/Naure,
4 Little Essex Street, WC2,
August 15.

From Mr Philip Oakes

Sir, I wish Bernard Levin well in his bid to resign from the NUJ. When I did the same four years ago I received a cordial reply informing me that I had been elected a life member.

Yours sincerely,
PHILIP OAKES,
Fairfax Cottage,
North Oversley,
Market Rasen, Lincolnshire.
August 15.

Village councils

From Mr John Howard Gaze

Sir, I read with interest Mr A. V. Beer's letter of August 2. A parish is an area of land with or without a church. In the City of London, we have many parishes that do not have churches. In the case of this church, I, as clerk, have jurisdiction over two other parishes — St Benet Fink and St Peter Le Poer, both of whose churches disappeared many years ago.

In the City as a whole, there are 97 parishes; there, most certainly, are not 97 churches.

I remain, yours faithfully,
JOHN GAZE (parish clerk),
The Parish Church of
St Michael, Cornhill,
St Michael's Alley, Cornhill, EC3.

From Prebendary Hayes Treen

Sir, The ecclesiastical and civil boundaries of a parish are not always the same. A civil parish may have two ecclesiastical parishes within its boundaries viz., Easton in Gordano and Pill in the diocese of Bath and Wells and, unfortunately, still in the county of Avon.

Yours faithfully,
HAYES TREAN,
13 The Lea, Bishops Lydeard,
Taunton, Somerset.
August 6.

member of the House of Commons, as do all other complaints under the Parliamentary Commissioner Act 1967.

In making these recommendations the committee cannot be accused of having been ignorant of the workings of Whitehall or of the problems besetting civil servants. Its members included no fewer than three former permanent secretaries, among them the redoubtable Dame Evelyn Sharp.

The committee recognised that its suggested code of practice would probably be no more than a first step towards more open government, but its great merit would be that it would not require legislation, with all the protracted controversy which that involves. After all these years it is surely time that something was done.

Yours faithfully,
DENIS DOBSON,
50 Egerton Crescent, SW3.

From Dr Mary Archer

Sir, Your leader of August 6, "Renewable scepticism", was near-sighted, on four grounds. First, the UK is predicted to become a net importer of oil by the year 2000; at the current rate of use, the world will run out of proven reserves of fossil fuels (coal, oil and gas) within about 100 years.

Increased energy efficiency, although highly desirable, can slow but not prevent this irreversible depletion. In a relatively short time, therefore, all our energy needs must be met from some combination of nuclear and renewable energy.

Secondly, you assert that there is "an overriding technical reason why these sources are unlikely ever to transform the economics of energy: they are all extremely diffuse". Although solar energy (by far the most abundant renewable resource) has indeed relatively low power density the areas required to supply commercial energy from solar sources are small compared with the land available. Under 0.1 per cent of the land area of developing countries would be required to meet the whole of their current energy demand from solar resources.

Thirdly, land intensity is also low in comparison with that required for hydroelectric power (another renewable, seldom acknowledged as such). A favourable hydro scheme, with a low ratio of area flooded per unit of energy stored, provides only 8-20 per cent of the power per unit area compared with that from a solar scheme. Wave power, singled out for your particular scorn, contains average energy fluxes of 50-70 kW per metre width of oncoming wave.

Finally, you allege that "renewable energy threatens the very environment it is supposed to protect". Use of the renewables does not create dangerous waste products nor affect the heat balance of the earth. The environmental problems it creates are trivial compared with those associated with fossil and nuclear fuels.

How unfamiliarity breeds contempt. Yours truly,
MARY ARCHER,
National Energy Foundation,
Rockingham Drive, Linton Wood,
Milton Keynes, Buckinghamshire.

School repairs

From the Chief Education Officer of Barking and Dagenham

Sir, You report today a statement by Mr Michael Fallon, a junior education minister, that on the issue of school repairs and maintenance many councils could improve their performance and "in my view parents would expect proper priority to be given within budgets to making sure that schools are kept in decent repair".

During this financial year my own council put in an additional £1.25 million specifically for structural repairs and maintenance of school buildings. This had the effect of slightly reducing the percentage of money delegated to schools, even though in real terms our schools, on average, are 11 per cent better off this financial year (considerably above the inflation level).

For this we are heavily criticised by the same Mr Fallon who, as reported in your article on August 8, stated that "in effect these councils are robbing classrooms to expand central services". These councils include Barking and Dagenham. There appears to be a certain inconsistency in the junior minister's approach.

Yours faithfully,
A. P. LARBALESTIER,
Chief Education Officer,
London Borough of Barking and Dagenham,
Town Hall, Barking, Essex.
August 14.

Traffic on toll roads

From Mr T. J. Hadfield

Sir, The policy of charging tolls on new relief roads is wrong (report, August 13). The new roads are to be built to reduce traffic on the roads they are to relieve and traffic must be given every encouragement to use them.

Put the toll on the relieved road. In Birmingham's case, tolls on the M5 and M6 routes within the Birmingham orbital motorway, when completed, would have a profound effect on traffic in the centre of Birmingham, forcing through traffic around the city. Surely, this is the object.

Yours faithfully,
T. J. HADFIELD,
42 Falconers Field,
Harpenden, Hertfordshire.
August 13.

Friends and relatives

From Mr Andrew S. Cook

Sir, Albert Embankment (Mrs Holloway's letter, August 16) is in good company, near neighbour to Norman Undercroft, who was thought by some to be Surveyor to the Fabric of Westminster Abbey, and friend of the medieval historian Rufus Stone, whose memorial stands in the New Forest. But they all look up to the Cheshire aristocrat, Tatton Park, whose library bookplate once caused an antiquarian bookseller to surmise in print in his booklist: "Cousin to the celebrated African explorer, Mungo?"

Yours etc.,
ANDREW S. COOK,
Linnam, 66 Compton Road,
Winchmore Hill, N21.
August 16.

NEW RELEASES

ELVIRA MADIGAN (PG): Bo Werbinger's 1957 classic about an army officer's summer fling with a circus girl. Vicious as drama, but a milestone in cinematic preferences. **Cinema Classics** (071-430 5661).

NAKED TANGO (18): Vice, depravity and rampant dancing in 1930s Buenos Aires. Helmut Kästner's directorial debut. **Cinema Classics** (071-430 5661).

TRULY, MADLY, DEEPLY (PG): Growing Juliet Stevenson with her late boyfriend (Alan Rickman) back to life. Eerie, atmospheric, and a directorial debut for playwright Anthony Minghella. **Lumière** (071-430 0691).

CURRENT

AFTER DARK, MY SWEET (18): Tormented drifter (Jason Patric) wanders into a kidnapping plot. Atmospheric thriller from a J. A. Thompson novel. **Director: James Foley.** **Cinema Classics** (071-430 5661).

PARIS TROU (18): Dennis Hopper's reckless Southern racist stands accused of murder. Powerful, atmospheric drama from Peter Jackson's novel. **With: Hopper, Hershey, Ed Harris, director: Stephen Gaghan.** **Cinema Classics** (071-430 5661).

THEATRE GUIDE

THE CARPENTER: Donal Plunkett in a classic tale of a woman and a man. **Director: Peter Jackson.** **Cinema Classics** (071-430 5661).

THE COUP: Norman Bates as a depressed president in Michael Crichton's thriller. **Director: Michael Crichton.** **Cinema Classics** (071-430 5661).

DANCING AT LUGHNASSA: Brian Friel's play about a man's memories of his childhood. **Director: Brian Friel.** **Cinema Classics** (071-430 5661).

DICKENS' WOMEN: Spurred, shrew, and the jolly. **Director: Michael Crichton.** **Cinema Classics** (071-430 5661).

DON'T DRESS FOR DINNER: Simon Caddell in a classic tale of a woman and a man. **Director: Peter Jackson.** **Cinema Classics** (071-430 5661).

EDWARD II: Simon Russell Beale as King Edward II. **Director: Caryl Churchill.** **Cinema Classics** (071-430 5661).

JOSEPH AND THE AMAZING TECHNICOLOR DREAMCOAT: Jason Donovan as a golden boy. **Director: Michael Crichton.** **Cinema Classics** (071-430 5661).

KING LEAR: Proseptic production by Nicholas Hyman with John Wood in superb voice.

EDINBURGH FESTIVAL

NATIONAL BALLET OF CUBA: A rare British visit by Cuba's top ballet company, led by veteran ballerina Alicia Alonso, a highly respected figure in post-revolutionary Cuba. **Director: Alicia Alonso.** **Cinema Classics** (071-430 5661).

PANCHOA QUARTET: Milan Skampa and Antonín Koblížek, former members of the Smetana Quartet, present the Panchoa Quartet in the first of three programmes. **Director: Milan Skampa.** **Cinema Classics** (071-430 5661).

THE BRUCE: Post R.S. Silver's tribute to Robert the Bruce, chronicling the life of his hero. **Director: Robert the Bruce.** **Cinema Classics** (071-430 5661).

THE NATIONAL THEATRE OF MARTIN: The Czechoslovakian company makes its British debut with two productions. **Director: Martin.** **Cinema Classics** (071-430 5661).

CINEMA GUIDE

Geoff Brown's assessment of films in London and further afield. Indicated with the symbol (P) on release across the country.

1111 Kensington (0255 814656): Series. **Director: Michael Crichton.** **Cinema Classics** (071-430 5661).

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TODAY'S EVENTS

MIKE MOSHANE: Improvisational comedian. **Director: Mike Moshane.** **Cinema Classics** (071-430 5661).

BARNEY KESSEL/OVERLAP JONES: Two prominent figures in modern jazz. **Director: Barney Kessel.** **Cinema Classics** (071-430 5661).

BLACK MICE THEATRE: The respected physical theatre troupe presents its new piece *Totipotenti*. **Director: Black Mice Theatre.** **Cinema Classics** (071-430 5661).

THE NATIONAL THEATRE OF MARTIN: The Czechoslovakian company makes its British debut with two productions. **Director: Martin.** **Cinema Classics** (071-430 5661).

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Return in a misguided direction

OPERA
Don Giovanni
Coliseum

THE curtain has shot up on the new season at English National Opera. If you like your *Don Giovanni* dispatched within three hours, then this is the place to go. Nobody need worry about missing the last train home.

Speed, of course, is not of itself a mortal sin. But just as this *Don Giovanni* is haunted by the mangled bodies of his former lovers, so Jerzy Maksymiuk, conducting yet another revival, deserves to roast in a musical hell of his own making, asphyxiated by a circle of avenging sopranos.

As most of the electricity has now gone from Jonathan Miller's six-year-old production, it is as if the show had been put on an emergency generator. The crumbling dark towers of Philip Prowse's set certainly still move speedily enough to facilitate rapid scene changes. This is all to the good. But Maksymiuk, still more aggressively than before, sweeps all before him: the comparative weights of different voices, the occasion of each aria, above all the breathing heart of Mozart's score.

Jane Eaglen (Donna Anna) and Kim Begley (Don Ottavio), who are

becoming very much the worthy old troupers of this show, come through relatively unscathed, such is their experience and ever-growing vocal stature. Even here, though, one longed for space for the "Del mio tesoro" of this stalwart man with a mission. And Eaglen's cries for revenge, already thrilling in their rapier thrust, would have been still more magnificent with orchestral support proportionate to the scale of her voice.

The person who really suffers from Maksymiuk's arrogance is Cathryn Pope. She has been carefully, but still a little too impatiently, nurtured from a Zerlina entirely in character to a Donna Elvira which she is still pursuing. She is a sensitive enough artist to fill the role. But not yet, and probably never while Maksymiuk is around. She is all distraction: the dignity which her comrades praise and the sombre distress which her music so richly voices is as yet dissipated in a physically histrionic, vocally squally performance.

Steven Page is a Don Giovanni whose smouldering presence, with its sharp edge of sadism, still struggles for full expression in his dark, often ill-focused voice. Arwel Huw Morgan has no such problems as Leporello. He simply adapts to the better and the worse of this life and of its revival with resigned good humour.

A little more could be expected of



Relatively unscathed by arrogant guidance: Kim Begley and Jane Eaglen

Margaret Preece's bland Zerlina. "La ci darem" goes for little. Her relationship with Clive Bayley's lively Masetto lacks comparable invention. One performance down: three to go.

HILARY FINCH

THEATRE

Are there Tigers in the Congo?
Traverse

EDINBURGH FESTIVAL THERE are plenty of people who feel strongly about the AIDS pandemic, and no doubt plenty of dramatists who would like to write about it. But how? Since Larry Kramer's *Normal Heart* five years ago, we have not seen an impressively articulate play on the subject, and some have been dire. Only recently I could not bring myself to review a comedy about an exploitative harp making a film about her AIDS-infected sister, so opportunistic and exploitative did it seem itself. What is refreshing about this piece from Finland is that its authors start with the assumption that it is difficult if not impossible to dramatise their feelings in any of the usual ways.

Yet at first it seems that Bengt Ahlfors and Johan Barmann have opted for something hackneyed, something old. Their play is about two writers trying to write a play about AIDS. These characters are also called A and B, a likely formula for the kind of abstract evening that makes audiences go. Z. John Mitchell's production is, however, the opposite of sleep-inducing. Leo Winger's A proposes

THE BEST OF MUMMENSCHANZ

THE interval neatly divides in two different halves this Swiss company. The first half is a programme of mime and dance, puppetry and dream. In the second half the three performers are unquestionably human, in that they possess legs at the lower end of their bodies and arms near the top. They do not sport human heads, but there is usually something on top of the shoulders — one body supports a suitcase, for instance, with its handle serving as a mouth and the locks on either side for eyes, while another dancer's head has become a large white electric socket, and her loveliest partner's a two-pin plug.

But before the interval, the company's surreal image-making has delved below the human into the wonders of morphology. Shapes change in front of us, rear up, roll over; and only the sense of humour informing their movements indicates that a human performer is concealed within the orange beanbag, the ponderous snail, the shimmering jellyfish or the tubular offspring of a giant inchworm mated to a ship's ventilator.

Occasionally these objects approach the nightmarish. The 20-foot high,

THE BEST OF MUMMENSCHANZ

silver lump, rippling and pulsing like an gross, athletic oyster, is exactly what I did not wish to meet on my way home from school in the dark. And the eight-year-old beside me, muttering "Oh, crumbs", had evidently felt the same dread.

For their more mysterious, gravity-defying pieces the performers wear black, move against a black cloth in carefully directed lighting and become invisible. Two ends of a pale carpet may then lift themselves into the air and court one another, shyly advancing, shyly drawing back. Such magical pieces are like the living performance of an animated cartoon, an achievement only made possible by the 20th century discovery of fluorescent dyes and sophisticated lighting systems.

Human situations are recognisable in these short sketches, none of them longer than five minutes. One end of the carpet is heartlessly abandoned by the other; the beanbag makes heroic struggles to clamber on to a box; happy expressions are stuck on to a blank face with Velcro and immediately torn off. But the charm of Mummenschanz truly lies in the endlessly fascinating spectacle of metamorphosis at work, either in the creature made of liquorice rolls who becomes various creeping animals before flapping off as a bat, or in the demonstration by two dough-faced figures who treat their features as an indecisive chef uses pastry: never the same shape for 20 seconds together.

JEREMY KINGSTON



Thompson: fine singer and songwriter, and truly original performer

Richard Thompson

OUTSIDE, an electronic sign flashing "sold out" confirmed the current buoyancy of Richard Thompson's disc. *Rumor and Sigh*, released three months ago, is his first Top 40 album in the 20 years since he left folk-rock days Fairport Convention. While barely enough to put him in the Dire Straits league, it is an encouraging sign of a musician who has long been one of the overlooked treasures of English rock.

Inside, the plain staging and low-key start might have suggested business as usual, were such a phrase not inapplicable to a talent of Thompson's magnitude. A fine singer and songwriter, and one of a handful of truly

Richard Thompson

original guitar stylists, he can make you feel that he is the best in the world. He opened with a stunning triptych on the theme of perverted love — "Read About Love", "Backlash Love Affair" and "Gypsy Love Songs" — which emphasised his ironic humour and incorporated some rapid musical scene-shifting, from the wooded shores of England to the windswept deserts of the Bedouin.

The rootsy, acoustic flavourings of Pete Dink (saxophone, mandolin) and John Sherman (accordion) were anchored by a muscular rock rhythm section composed of Fat Donaldson (bass) and David Digne (drums). Thompson's latest vocal partner is Shawn Colvin, a folk chanteuse of the Greenwich Village school. The cut-crystal quality of her voice provided an elegant counterpoint to Thompson's hard, burnished tone, notably on the gorgeous ballad "I Still Dream" and an acoustic

duet of "Waltzing for Dreamers". Although he gave generous rein to his supporting cast, it was Thompson who remained inebriately the focus of attention. The painstaking accuracy and technical fluency of his playing was matched only by the soaring leaps of the imagination which were constantly evident in the design and nature of his solos.

Of many delights, it was the spine-tingling chorus of "Wall of Death", the emotional undercurrent of "I Misunderstood" and the spiralling climax of "A Bone Through Her Nose" that stuck most clearly in the mind. Suspect pacing led to a dip towards the end of the two-hour set, but the imagination remained of a vast talent to be exploited. Perhaps a headband and a fake American accent would do the trick.

DAVID SINCLAIR
Arts features, page 13

WORD-WATCHING

Answers from page 20

FLIP-FLOP:

(a) To change to the diametrically opposite point of view. American slang where the British do a U-turn. "But he ran a jack-in-the-box campaign, flip-flopped on the electoral and litmus-test issues of abortion, and over offered to New Yorkers that pazzazz they have come to expect from their municipal politicians."

TAWPIE

(a) A clumsy, headless, or inefficient girl, from the Norse *tawp* a half-witted woman. "Many of his female friends were very accomplished, whom he thought useless tawpies for all that."

KALLUMPT

(a) A Philistine tree of the myrobalan genus, and its edible fruit, from the Tagalog. "The garden, running down to the stream, was thick with pink bananas, mangoes, kalumpit."

WOODIE

(a) The gallows, in Scottish dialect, because it is made of wood. "They were kept awake by the fiscal clatter of the sheriff's men sawing and tannering at the woodie."

WINNING MOVE

By Raymond Keene
Chess Correspondent

Today's problem is a composition by C. Sydenham from 1977. White is to play and win in two moves. You need only find the first move.

THE CARPENTER

Harold Pinter's play about a man's memories of his childhood. **Director: Brian Friel.** **Cinema Classics** (071-430 5661).

JESUS CHRIST SUPERSTAR

Musical by Tim Rice. **Director: Jesus Christ Superstar.** **Cinema Classics** (071-430 5661).

THE WOMAN IN BLACK

Adapted by Stephen Mallatra. **Director: The Woman in Black.** **Cinema Classics** (071-430 5661).

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ENTERTAINMENTS

THEATRES

ADRIAN PHILIP 020 7411 0071
020 7411 0071
020 7411 0071

ME AND MY GIRL 020 7411 0071
020 7411 0071
020 7411 0071

THE HAPPIEST SHOW IN TOWN 020 7411 0071
020 7411 0071
020 7411 0071

ALBERT HUB 020 7411 0071
020 7411 0071
020 7411 0071

BLOOD BROTHERS 020 7411 0071
020 7411 0071
020 7411 0071

"ASTONISHING" S. KERRY 020 7411 0071
020 7411 0071
020 7411 0071

"A SAUCY COMEDY" 020 7411 0071
020 7411 0071
020 7411 0071

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BBC 1

6.00 **Coffee** 5.30 Breakfast News
9.05 **Around the World with Willy Fog**. Cartoon (r) 9.35 **Heartbeat**. Tony Hart teaches the art of painting (r). (Coast)
10.00 **News**. regional news and weather 10.05 **Playdays** 10.25 **Clockwork**. Gameshow in which three teams wage battle in a race against time (r) 10.50 **The O'Z**. Cartoon (r) 11.00 **News**. regional news and weather 11.05 **Junior Pet Black**. The first in a new series of seven programmes in which eight players from the UK and Ireland, all aged under 16, compete for the Junior For Black trophy. This first match is between England's Ronnie O'Sullivan and Evan Munro, the under-21 world champion from Scotland
11.30 **Living on the Land**. The lambing season at Hartop Hall in the Lake District (r) 11.55 **The History Man**. Brian McNamee visits Cherrylburg, the village where the master engraver Thomas Bewick lived and worked
12.00 **News**. regional news and weather 12.05 **The Garden Party**. Debbie Greenwood and Denis Tuohy present the magazine series from Glasgow's Botanic Gardens 12.55 **Regional news and weather**
1.00 **One O'Clock News** followed by weather
1.30 **Neighbourhood** 1.50 **Tastes of Wales**. Gill Davies visits chef Keith Rothwell and samples a variety of fish dishes



Alone and on the run in the Belfast night: James Mason (2.20pm)

2.20 **File: Odd Man Out** (1947, b/w)
C-CHOICE: There is a chronology of memorable moments, though it is only in the memory. Space must be found in it for a wounded Irish gunman (James Mason), dropping his dying body through the night streets of an unnamed city that is clearly Belfast. Some would go further than this, and say that *Odd Man Out* is in its entirety should hang in that other, more prestigious, gallery where classics of British cinema are on permanent display. That great movie critic James Agee was probably right when he said the film blotted its copy book by going all arty after its early and exciting reels, but was probably wrong when he opined that John Ford's *The Informer*, which had a similar plot, was the better film. Seen again, after a passage of years, *Odd Man Out* loses none of its superior poetic power or the haunting sadness that is rooted in William Allen's music. (Coast)
4.10 **The All New Poppy Show**. Cartoons 4.30 **The Really Wild Show**. Discover how whales talk under water, bumble bees fly and male seahorses become pregnant. Presented by Terry Nutkins, Nicola Davies and Chris Packham (r). (Coast)
5.00 **Newsround** 5.05 **Byker Grove**. The rise of the 20-part children's drama set in a youth club (r). (Coast)
5.35 **Neighbours** (r). (Coast). Northern Ireland: Sportsweek; 5.40 **Inside Ulster**
6.00 **Six O'Clock News** with Anna Ford and Andrew Hawley. Weather 6.30 **Regional news magazines**. Northern Ireland: Neighbours (r). (Coast)
7.00 **Good Sport**. The fun side of sport is explored by Paula Hamilton, John Fashanu and Jim Allen
7.30 **EastEnders** (r). (Coast)
8.00 **Waiting for God**. Comedy series about the inhabitants of a retirement home. With Stephanie Cole and Graham Crowden. (Coast)
8.30 **The Doctor**. The fifth in a six-part series on the working life of a GP in the Yorkshire Dales. Dr Barry Brewster's hectic day ends with an emergency call from a patient with bleeding varicose veins. (Coast)
9.00 **Nine O'Clock News** with Michael Buerk. Regional news and weather
9.30 **File: A Death in California** (1985). First of a two-part drama based on the true story of a woman's ambivalent relationship with a murderer. The story begins in Beverly Hills in 1973. A bride-to-be and her wealthy fiancé agree to pose for a magazine article. It is a decision which is to change their lives, forever. Starring Cheryl Ladd and Sam Elliott. Part two can be seen tomorrow at 9.30pm. Directed by Delbert Mann
11.00 **Cagney and Lacey: Filled Duty**. Type D and Sharon Glass star as the New York women police detectives (r). (Coast)
11.50 **Weather**

8.00 **News**
8.15 **BC: Archaeology of the Bible Lands**. By the Rivers of Babylon (r)
8.45 **Writers' Houses**. The Irish poet Seamus Heaney visits the former home of William Wordsworth (r)
9.00 **Seventy Summers**. The story of a farm. A portrait of a farm in Buckinghamshire in the early 20th century
9.30 **File: Beauty for the Asking** (1957, b/w). Comedy starring Lucille Ball as a jittery headliner who creates a new beauty cream to win back her mercenary boyfriend. Directed by Glenn Tytler
10.35 **File: The Silver Fleet** (1943, b/w). Well-made second world war flag-warehouse starring Ralph Richardson as a Dutch shipyard owner, whose collaboration with the Nazis turns to resistance when he sabotages two U-boat submarines. Directed by Vernon Sewell and Gordon Wellesley
12.00 **The Great North Motorway**. The implications for landowners and motorists affected by the ten-year plan to upgrade the A1 to motorway status between London and Tyneside
12.30 **He Who Dares**. Gary Sayers. The South African golfer recalls his 30-year career (r)
1.20 **Johnson and Friends**. Puppet fun 1.30 **Bansey**. Cartoon (r)
1.35 **Sign Extra**. Great Expectations - Follow My Leader. The magazine for the deaf examines the role of women in British business (r)
2.00 **News** and weather followed by **Seven Ages: It's Not Fat, It's Muscle**. Life from the mid-fifties to the seventies (r)
3.00 **News** and weather followed by **Laid Off**. The contrasting fortunes of two men who were made redundant in 1988 (r). (Coast)
3.45 **Lee and Parnell: The Statue**. With John Yates
3.50 **News** and weather. Regional news
4.00 **Byways**. The Gaelic and the River. Archaeologist Richard Bradley investigates the sacred power of the River Thames
4.30 **Through the Garden Gate**. Stormdown. Dennis Cornish visits the colourful garden of Stormdown on the southern edge of Dartmoor, brimming with azaleas and rhododendrons
5.00 **When in Germany**. David Cook and Erika Neudorfer visit the Meissen porcelain factory in the former East German city. They talk to Kurt Sidenkopf, the prime minister of Saxony, and to residents, about the effects of unification (r)
5.30 **Gardeners' World**. Gardening magazine (r)
6.00 **File: The Early Bird** (1955). Unrivalled farce starring Norman Wisdom, who takes on the competition on his horse-drawn milk round. Directed by Robert Asher



Sergeant Bilko deals up more laughs: Phil Silvers (7.35pm)

7.35 **Bilko: Warrant Officer Pappalardo** (b/w). Vintage American comedy series starring Phil Silvers (r)
8.00 **Hear Say: Rise of a New Generation**. The third of six forums for black people in Britain. Trevor Phillips and a studio audience discuss the agenda for the Nineties of black youth culture
8.30 **Wildlife Showcase: The Fiddling Hen**. The fiddling hen who inhabits the volcanic crater of the Ngongoro Reserve in Tanzania are prey to a rich concentration of scavengers. (Coast)
9.00 **Rab C. Nesbitt: City of Culture**. Gregor Fisher's anarchic street philosopher takes on the role of Glasgow's cultural attaché
9.30 **Horizon Special: Red Star in Orbit - The Mission**. The last of a three-part series on the Soviet space programme details the space walk undertaken by two cosmonauts to repair the damaged Mir space station
10.30 **Newsround** with Peter Snow
11.15 **Jazz 625**. In the last programme in the series, Slim Gaillard introduces the Dave Brubeck Quartet
11.45 **Not Necessarily... The Video art magazine showcases Chris Byrne's Man of Paper** 11.55 **Weather**
12.00 **Open University: An Introduction to Psychology - Autism**. Ends at 12.30am

ITV

5.00 **TV-am**
9.25 **Vicky the Viking**. Cartoon 9.50 **Regional News** and weather 9.55 **Short Story Theatre**. The Shoeless Girl 10.25 **Just for the Record**. Record-breaking achievements, including the slowest Australian speed records (r) 10.50 **News** headlines 10.55 **Wick Through the Hills**. First of a five-part Australian drama about two orphans (r) 11.25 **On Take** 11.55 **Regional News** 12.00 **Cartoon**. Donald Duck
12.10 **Rod, Jane and Freddy**. The trio have a day out on a farm (r)
12.30 **News** and weather 1.10 **Regional News** and weather 1.20 **Home and Away**. (Oracle) 1.50 **A Country Practice** 2.20 **Take the High Road**. Scottish drama series set in the Highlands
2.50 **All Closed Up**. David Hamilton hosts the game show for married couples 3.15 **ITN News** headlines 3.50 **Thames News** headlines 3.55 **Farmhouse**. Soap dealing the north of England with Australia
3.55 **Thomas the Tank Engine and Friends** (r) 4.00 **Hudsey Pig** (r) 4.15 **The Dreamstone** (r) 4.40 **Children's Ward** (r). (Oracle)
5.10 **Blockbusters**. Bob Holness hosts the general knowledge quiz for teenagers
5.40 **ITN News** with Carol Barnes. (Oracle) Weather
5.55 **Thames News**. Jackie Speckley continues her reports on long-arm voluntary work
6.00 **Home and Away** (r). (Oracle)
6.30 **Thames News** and weather
7.00 **Emmerdale**. Agricultural soap set in the Yorkshire Dales. (Oracle)
7.30 **The High Life**. Anne Robinson visits clothes designer Bijan at his Beverly Hills boutique, while guest presenter Barry Norman joins multi-millionaire record producer Mickie Most at his London home
8.00 **The Bill: Accused**. Hard-hitting police series. A father is denied access to his son and decides to take the law into his own hands. (Oracle)
8.30 **The Best of Tommy Cooper**. The much-loved comedy genius confronts Frankenstein and Dracula single-handed and tries his hand at preaching from the pulpit
9.00 **The Edward R. Roybal Show**. Edward Woodward stars as the former FBI agent, this week fighting injustice in a Bronx school ruled by a vicious street gang dealing in drugs and carrying out petty thefts
10.00 **News at Ten** with Alastair Burnet and Trevor McDonald. (Oracle) Weather 10.30 **Thames News** and weather



The end of the beginning... Michael Wood in India (10.40pm)

10.40 **Choice**
C-CHOICE: "Perhaps it is still true", says Michael Wood, in his closing pronouncement to Peter Harvey's astonishingly sensitive camera, "that, for nations as for people, we may know our ends by our beginnings". Theatricality, it is an effective way to sign-off at the end of the second of these six films in which he searches for the origins, and traces the history, of the racial civilisation. In the context of the millenary of the birth of Christ, he is the Indians, tonight, what he says would be open to vigorous debate if he was thinking politically, but he isn't. Tonight's is a spiritual odyssey, from the Buddha to Mahatma Gandhi, via the Emperor Ashoka and Akbar, the mighty Mogul. Wood's travel reading must have included Mark Twain because he quotes the celebrated American's conclusion that, in matters of the spirit, it is the Indians who are the millionaires while the rest of us are the paupers. We are left wondering what the celebrated Michael Wood thinks about that. (Oracle)
11.40 **Prisoner: Call Block H** 12.30am **Videoview**. Video releases
1.00 **World Chess Championship**. Highlights of today's seventh games in the quarter-finals in Brussels
1.15 **Duets of the Mind**. Francis and Raymond Keane and journalist Donald Woods recall the 1972 chess game in Reykjavik between the American Bobby Fischer and the Soviet Union's Boris Spassky
1.45 **Alfred Hitchcock Presents: The 13th Floor**. Protesters try to halt the demolition of a grand old hotel
2.10 **Donahue**. Phil Donahue's guest is the dating expert Ron Jeffries, who claims that he can make any man irresistible to women
3.00 **80 Minutes**. American news and current affairs magazine
3.15 **60 Minutes**. American news and current affairs magazine
5.00 **The Company Up in the Air**. American sitcom
5.30 **ITN Morning News** with Anne Leathers. Ends at 6.00

CHANNEL 4

6.00 **The Channel Four Daily**
8.25 **Dire Straits - Alchemy Live**. A classic concert from 1983 (r)
10.30 **Crosswalk**. Young people discuss topics of interest (r)
11.00 **Fragile Earth: A Change in the Air**. Documentary exploring environmentally-sound forms of transport for the future (r)
12.00 **All the Waters of Wye**. Documentary series in which Julian Mitchell takes a rowing boat trip down the River Wye to recreate journeys made by the last tourists in the 18th century. Today he makes the trip from Tintern to Chepstow
12.30 **Business Daily** 1.00 **Sesame Street** (r)
2.00 **Channel 4 Racing: From York**. Introduced by Brough Scott. The line-up is (subject to alteration): (2.05) Deploy Acorn Stakes; (2.35) Raceall Melrose Handicap; (3.10) Judmonte International Stakes; (3.45) Great Vengeur Handicap; (4.15) Eagle Lane Handicap. The race commentator is Graham Good
4.30 **Countdown**. Richard Whitley hosts the words and numbers gameshow. With Dinah Sheridan in the dictionary corner
5.00 **Orf TV**. Michaela Strachan hosts the children's wildlife and environmental programme. Today's edition reports on ringing migrating birds in Gibraltar and meets Australia's fearsome saltwater crocodile (r) (Teletext)
5.30 **Class by Class: The Art of the Teacher**. Ray Goode sets out to discover if Britain is still the most class-conscious society on earth in the first programme, he meets Lady Margaret Tangey (r) (Teletext)
6.00 **Duet: Lady on a Grate**. Sitcom about an ill-matched couple living in Los Angeles
6.30 **Happy Days: Do You Want to Dance?** Fifties-set American comedy series
7.00 **Channel 4 News** followed by **Weather**. (Teletext)
7.50 **Comment**. Another viewer discusses a heart-felt topic
8.00 **Opinions**. Alastair Logan, a solicitor for two of the Guildford Four, gives his personal view on recent miscarriages of justice and of the public's faith in the criminal justice system
8.30 **Outside Times**. The *Casualty* and *Red Dwarf* series exploring Celtic myths. This programme tells the tragic story of the marriage of Branwen (Morfudd Hughes) to Matholwch, King of Ireland



The jokes are on him: Jeremy Hardy in Rear Window (9.00pm)

9.00 **Rear Window: Reflections on the New World Order**
C-CHOICE: The New World reflected in this cabaret show is not Duvick's. In fact, except for poet Tony Harrison's devastating counterpointing of a Gulf war-ravaged Iraq with the frozen sperm of GIs, the US features hardly at all in any of the acts. Instead, the performers conform to *Rear Window* producer Tark All's concept of a new world and era in which, when style rather than substance divides Britain's main political parties, it is the satirists, comedians and poets who increasingly perform the duty of a non-conformist and radical opposition to the establishment. If there is a catchphrase that best sums up the cabaret, it is probably the call to arms from its MC, Roland Muldoon: "Don't mourn - organise". Alternatively, there's the Bernard Shaw quote which prefaces the show: "Making life means making trouble". But as the satirical comedian Jeremy Hardy says tonight apropos of one-day rail strikes: "How can you have a class struggle on next-time?"
9.45 **He-Play: The Dogs**. Powerful drama by Trevor Melvin about a gambler who turns into a nightmare
10.00 **File: Prejudice** (1988). Drama-documentary about two women who, encountering sexual and racial discrimination at work, sought justice from Australia's Anti-Discrimination Board. Patsy Stephen plays a photographer who is sexually harassed while she is thrown into the male world of an Australian metropolitan newspaper's press corps, and Grace Parr is a Filipino nurse who, despite excellent qualifications, fails to gain promotion. Directed by Ian Munro
12.00 **Dick Powell Theatre: A Time to Die**. Dick Powell introduces the story of a multi-millionaire who is given the chance to live again if he can find someone else to live in his place
12.55am **Electric City: The Chick Corea Electric Band**. Brazilian jazz artist Chick Corea recorded in concert. Ends at 2.00

ANGLIA

As London except: 6.25pm-7.00 **Anglia News** 7.30-8.00 **A Green Day Out** 12.30pm **Anglia News** 1.00-1.30 **Anglia News** 1.30-2.00 **Anglia News** 2.00-2.30 **Anglia News** 2.30-3.00 **Anglia News** 3.00-3.30 **Anglia News** 3.30-4.00 **Anglia News** 4.00-4.30 **Anglia News** 4.30-5.00 **Anglia News** 5.00-5.30 **Anglia News** 5.30-6.00 **Anglia News** 6.00-6.30 **Anglia News** 6.30-7.00 **Anglia News** 7.00-7.30 **Anglia News** 7.30-8.00 **Anglia News** 8.00-8.30 **Anglia News** 8.30-9.00 **Anglia News** 9.00-9.30 **Anglia News** 9.30-10.00 **Anglia News** 10.00-10.30 **Anglia News** 10.30-11.00 **Anglia News** 11.00-11.30 **Anglia News** 11.30-12.00 **Anglia News** 12.00-12.30 **Anglia News** 12.30-1.00 **Anglia News** 1.00-1.30 **Anglia News** 1.30-2.00 **Anglia News** 2.00-2.30 **Anglia News** 2.30-3.00 **Anglia News** 3.00-3.30 **Anglia News** 3.30-4.00 **Anglia News** 4.00-4.30 **Anglia News** 4.30-5.00 **Anglia News** 5.00-5.30 **Anglia News** 5.30-6.00 **Anglia News** 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Minister tries to head off teachers' dispute

By DAVID TYTLER
EDUCATION EDITOR

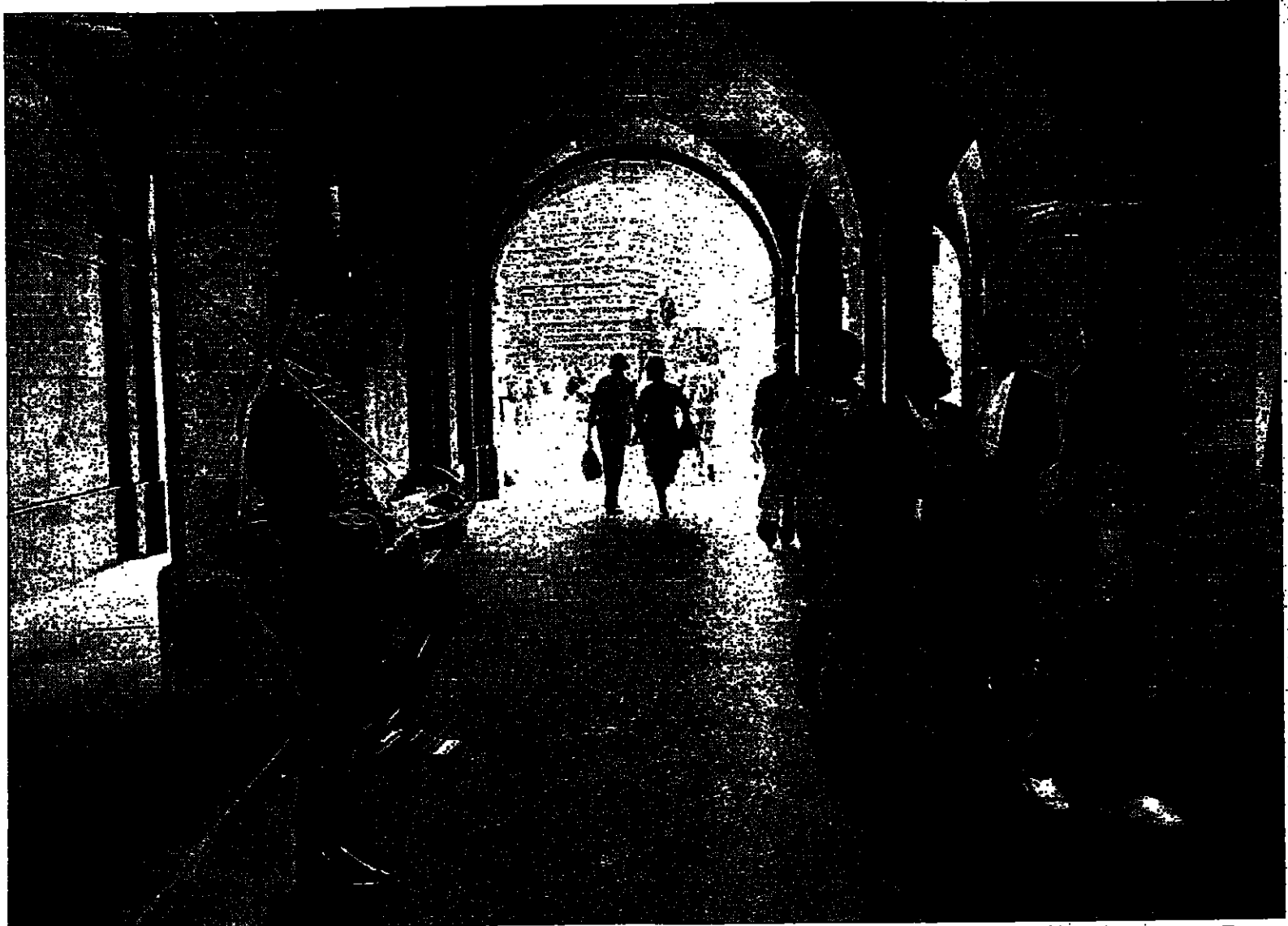
THE government last night moved to head off a new argument over teacher shortages by responding to a critical report on the subject two days before it is due to be published.

The report by Alan Smithers and Pamela Robinson, of Manchester University, was commissioned by the government to find out why teacher supply is regarded as a greater problem than education department statistics suggest. The £25,000 report says that there are shortages in some subjects in certain parts of the country and it makes several recommendations.

In a statement rushed out last night, Tim Eggar, the education minister, said headteachers had "a gloomy view" about teacher supply which was not backed by "hard evidence". He said that the research showed that the key factor influencing this impression was "the smaller number of applications per post. But, as this study points out, this is not due to too few teachers. The main cause lies in reduced mobility of staff, which is frequently due to constraints in the housing market."

The report recommends that the government should consider increasing the number of student places, carry out training in areas where teachers are most needed, look again at early retirement schemes and reduce the number of surplus school places. Mr Eggar said that the government was already acting on these recommendations but that the number of school places was a question for local education authorities. The authorities, claim, however, that the government's policy to encourage schools to opt out of council control severely limits their ability to reorganise schools with mergers and closures.

Dr Robinson said she was surprised that Mr Eggar had reacted to the report before publication. It had given due credit to education department initiatives although they were "only tinkering at the edges of the problem to provide a well-motivated and adequate teaching force". She said that although recruitment was improving it was starting from a very low base.



All change: a member of the King's Troop Royal Horse Artillery taking part yesterday in the handing over of duties at Horse Guards, Whitehall. The regiment will provide the Queen's Life Guard for three weeks while the Household Cavalry Mounted Regiment takes its summer break

Yeltsin condemns coup

Continued from page 1

Vladivostok turning out for work. Workers in Leningrad and some factories in the Urals also walked out and the Leningrad city council announced a political strike from this morning.

At his press conference, Mr Yanayev denounced Mr Yeltsin's call for a strike as irresponsible at a time when the country could ill afford to go through such chaos, but his remarks to reporters seemed

to show some backtracking from the uncompromising announcement of the takeover hours earlier.

Then, the emergency committee said that a mortal danger was facing "our great motherland" and claimed that Mr Gorbachev's reform policies had "entered a blind alley". "The pride and honour of the Soviet people must be restored in full," the statement was signed by Mr Yanayev, the prime minister,

Valentin Pavlov, and Oleg Baklanov, the Communist party secretary for defence industries. The other members of the emergency committee were the head of the KGB, Vladimir Kryuchkov; the interior minister, Boris Pugo; the peasants' union chairman, Valeri Starodubtsev; the president of the association of state enterprises, Aleksandr Tizyakov, and the defence minister, Dmitri Yazov.

But later, Mr Yanayev said that the committee would pursue the course set by Mr Gorbachev in 1985. "We stand for genuine democratic processes, a consistent reform policy and the renewal of the people so that they can flourish socially and economically." The union, treaty, establishing a new federal framework, would not be signed tomorrow, but nor would it be abandoned. People would have an opportunity to discuss it further. Mr Yanayev insisted that the takeover of power was constitutional, and the Soviet parliament would be asked to ratify it at a special session next Tuesday.

West demands new guarantees

Continued from page 1

streets to fight for democracy, and urged Britain and other Nato countries to suspend planned defence cuts since the apparent end of the Cold War. She also criticised the West for not having offered more concrete help and support for Mr Gorbachev's efforts to reform Soviet society.

President Mitterrand demanded that the new Soviet leaders guarantee the safety of Mr Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin, the Russian president. "France attaches a great deal of importance that the life and freedom of Mr Gorbachev and Mr Yeltsin are guaranteed," a statement said. The Soviet leaders "will be judged by their acts".

In Bonn, Helmut Kohl said Germany would continue to honour all its treaty commitments to the Soviet Union. There was no question yet of any sanctions against the Soviet Union. But the chancellor, who interrupted his holiday to hold talks with other world leaders, made it clear the new Soviet leader-

ship was very much on probation and there was no likelihood now of any Western aid beyond what was promised.

With at least 270,000 Soviet troops still on German soil, Herr Kohl is most concerned that the treaty undertaking full withdrawal by 1994 is honoured. The Soviet ambassador in Bonn, Vladislav Terechov, called at the chancellery to promise that the timetable would be followed. This was confirmed in Berlin by General Matvei Burlakov, the commander of Soviet troops in Germany.

Nato foreign ministers will meet in Brussels to discuss the impact of the changes in Moscow on Europe's security either today, after the EC foreign ministers meeting in The Hague, or at the latest tomorrow. The timing of the meeting will be determined by how soon Mr Baker can travel to Brussels. Last night Nato ambassadors reacted to the news from Moscow by underlining their determination "to ensure that the reforms of the last years are not reversed".

Trekking to the high temple of pony breeding

THE arrival of thousands of out-of-town folk and tourists from as far afield as England, France, Germany, Italy, The Netherlands and even the United States, provided the young hoodlums of Clifton, in Co Galway, with especially good cover for their games of cops and robbers.

In fact cops and robbers is probably too idealised. These were aggressive water pistol fights, punctuated by very grown-up swear words and prosecuted with Terminator-style bright orange or green weapons.

While hundreds of aristocratic Connemara ponies paraded through the ring at the 68th annual show at the field in Clifton, set on the Atlantic coast in the west of Ireland, the boys ran through the crowds duelling and deciding who was dead and who was alive.

When the prize-winners were announced over the public address system in the show's first ever junior championship class, one little, toughie in grubby jeans was pointing out in no uncertain terms who the enemy was. "We don't like you," he bellowed, "and we are going to make you and your little brother understand that." And off they went on another mad scramble.

This, according to one visiting English buyer, is the "high temple of Connemara breeding", an annual ritual when about 450 ponies from all over Ireland descend on Clifton to compete for coveted prizes awarded to animals coming as near as possible to the breed standard. In years gone by Connemaras, a resilient but elegant beast, were found throughout Ireland and were used for ploughing, bringing in hay and, perhaps, for pulling a trap to the village.

The ponies are now prized throughout Europe for their staid and jumping abilities and as ideal first horses for young children. The introduction of the latest edition of the stud book points out that a Connemara is a kindly animal, which should be a "compact, well-balanced riding type with good depth and substance and good heart room, standing on short legs, covering a lot of ground". To the untutored eye there seemed



plenty of these around in grey, black, bay, brown duns and occasional roans or chestnuts.

In the ring, the judging in 20 classes went on all day as serious-looking men in black bowties and dark trousers with red faces and red cars stared intently at one horse after another before coming to solemn decisions that could be worth thousands in future sales fees to the winning owners.

This was summer in Connemara where the showers come in an hour, spitting on the brightly coloured anoraks of the French and Italian tourists and making us all keep one eye on the sky. Susan and Peter Weigl had come from their farm in Co Mayo. Although Connemara is hugely popular with German tourists, Peter is not one of them. Seven years ago he and his wife decided to rent out their smallholding in Bavaria and move to Ireland. Peter farms about 42 acres with sheep, a few Kerry cows and a Connemara gelding called Bellamy which doubles as a car. "It's for riding and bringing in hay and turf," he said. He had come to see how big the best horses were, and was thinking of buying another one.

Michael Ryan from Ballymole, Co Galway, probably asking too much for Peter at £4,000 for a beautiful grey colt called Clonkahan Captain. Connemaras, he had interest from Dutch and English buyers. Michael has been coming to the show for more than 40 years. He said in the old days there were about half as many horses and many more were sold at the show.

It was still going as the light began to fade and the tourists began moving off the site to well-appointed hotels, the cyclists to holiday hotels. Later in one noisy bar in Westport, Co Mayo, the young Italians were getting down to the serious business of drinking - Irish-style.

EDWARD GORMAN

Leaders caught out

Continued from page 1

US Secretary of State, was roughing it on his smallholding in deepest Wyoming. This time, Mr Bush broke with his August tradition of carrying on fishing in Kennebunkport while an international dispute developed. His nonchalance last year led to widespread criticism, and yesterday he returned to Washington, ostensibly to receive the new Soviet ambassador.

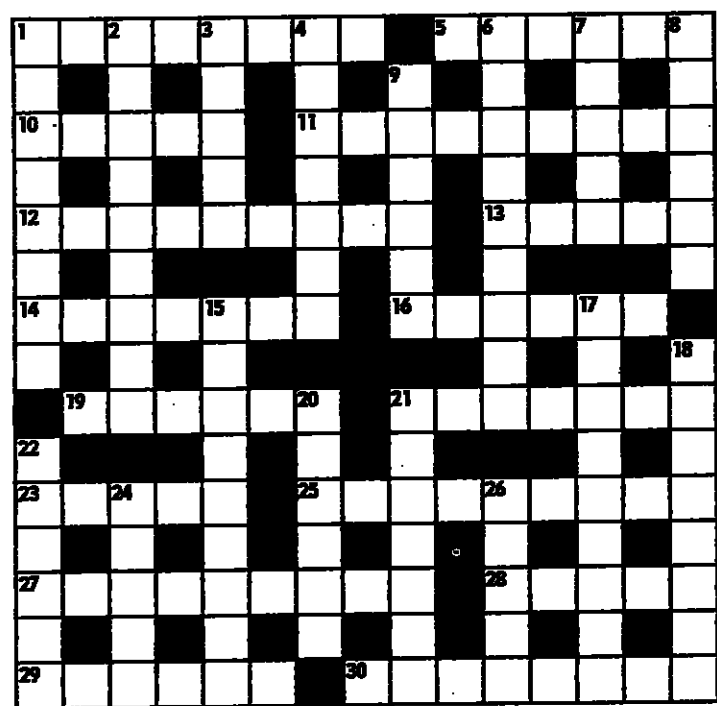
Nor did the Italians fare well in "Where is your leader?" Gianni De Michelis, the

foreign minister, was in the right half of Europe, Yugoslavia, but was clearly embarrassed on, so to speak, yesterday's crisis.

Of course, there is nothing like being the man on the spot. Last week, Aleksandr Yakovlev, reputed author of Mr Gorbachev's glasnost, said that there might be a coup. With the exception of *The Times*, nobody seemed to notice.

While Moscow churned, the leaders of the West were not fiddling, but fishing and paddling.

THE TIMES CROSSWORD PUZZLE NO 18,689



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- 10 A women's leader Edward bearded (5)
- 11 But they were not mere rhyme-sters! (4,5)
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- 14 Unvarying habit (7)
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- 23 Long-time no-see, this sort of bishop? (7)
- 25 Does he have the smaller share at lunchtime? (9)
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- 9 First signs of synovitis - knee eased with embrocation, rubbing and pin through joint (6)
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- 17 Intolerant of the continental Basile characters (9)
- 18 Stoke Poges, say, a district of comparatively high unemployment (4,4)
- 20 Spotted quarters marked with two colours (6)
- 21 Harness horse with a pig's foot? (7)
- 22 Not far from resort of St Malo (6)
- 24 A university study of American poet (5)
- 26 Storms announced for Scottish Highlanders (5)

Solution to Puzzle No 18,688

DUCAT REPUBLIC
I O A A M O
T E T A S T E
E A R T H F O O L H A R D Y
P E R S O N A S E C R E T E
S E M O C V
R E D R E S S P A L E T T E
I O A T S
F I N D F A U L T S L O T H
U G R P E R A
D R O N E C O N F O R M E D
G T S O T O R E
E L E P H A N T S T H R O W

A daily safari through the language jungle. Which of the possible definitions is correct?
By Philip Howard

- FLIP-FLOP**
a. A weedy wimp
b. Dog-paddle at swimming
c. To do a U-turn
- TAWPPE**
a. A clumsy girl
b. A male
c. A vegetable pie
- KALUMPTIT**
a. A refuse pit
b. You can lump it
c. A tree with edible fruit
- WOODIE**
a. The woodpecker
b. A fence
c. The galleys

Answers on page 18

AA ROADWATCH

For the latest AA traffic and road-works information, 24 hours a day, dial 0836 401 followed by the appropriate code.

LONDON & SE
C. London (within N & S Circles) 731
M-ways/roads M4-M11 732
M-ways/roads M1-Carlton T 733
M-ways/roads Dartford T-M23 734
M-ways/roads M23-M4 735
M25 London Orbital only 736

National
National motorways 737
West Country 738
Wales 739
Midlands 740
East Angles 741
North-west England 742
North-east England 743
Scotland 744
Northern Ireland 745

AA Roadwatch is charged at 34p per minute (cheap rate) and 45p per minute at all other times.

Concise crossword, page 17

Early mist in England, Wales and Northern Ireland will clear to give bright or sunny periods. Much of Scotland will be similar, but northern and north-western parts will be cloudier with outbreaks of mostly light rain and some coastal fog. Brighter spells are more likely this afternoon. Winds may be rather strong in north-western Scotland. Outlook: mostly dry and bright before rain in the west and showers in the east.

MIDDAY: 1-4-hour, 5-8-hour, 9-12-hour, 1-4-hour, 5-8-hour, 9-12-hour

City	Temp	Wind	Cloud
Aberdeen	8.0	18	64
Amsterdam	10.0	18	64
Belfast	12.0	18	64
Birmingham	11.0	18	64
Bristol	11.0	18	64
Bournemouth	12.0	18	64
Brighton	11.0	18	64
Bristol	11.0	18	64
Cardiff	11.0	18	64
Edinburgh	11.0	18	64
Exeter	11.0	18	64
Gloucester	11.0	18	64
Heathrow	11.0	18	64
Leeds	11.0	18	64
London	11.0	18	64
Lowestoft	11.0	18	64
Manchester	11.0	18	64
Milford	11.0	18	64
Morecambe	11.0	18	64
Newcastle	11.0	18	64
Newport	11.0	18	64
Nottingham	11.0	18	64
Plymouth	11.0	18	64
Salisbury	11.0	18	64
Scarborough	11.0	18	64
Sheffield	11.0	18	64
Southampton	11.0	18	64
Souths	11.0	18	64
Stirling	11.0	18	64
Stoke	11.0	18	64
Swansea	11.0	18	64
Torquay	11.0	18	64
Weymouth	11.0	18	64
Worcester	11.0	18	64

* denotes figures are latest available

For the latest region by region forecast

24 hours a day, dial 0836 500 followed by the appropriate code.

Region	Forecast
Greater London	701
Kent, Surrey, Sussex	702
Dorset, Dorset & Dorset	703
Devon & Cornwall	704
Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, Somerset	705
Berkshire, Bucks, Oxford	706
Bedfordshire, Cambs	707
Northants, Suffolk, Cambs	708
West Mid & Stn Glam & Gwent	709
Shropshire, Hereford & Worcs	710
Central Midlands	711
East Midlands	712
Lincoln & Humberside	713
Dyfed & Powys	714
Gwynedd & Clwyd	715
N W England	716
W & S Yorks & Dales	717
N E England	718
Cumbria & Lake District	719
S W Scotland	720
W Central Scotland	721
Edin S Fife, Lothian & Borders	722
E Central Scotland	723
Grampian & E Highlands	724
N W Scotland	725
Caithness, Orkney & Shetland	726
N Ireland	727

Weathercall is charged at 34p per minute (cheap rate) and 45p per minute at all other times.

Sunday: Highest day temp: Southampton, 22C (72F); lowest day temp: Newcastle, 14C (57F); highest night temp: Newcastle, 12C (54F); highest sunrise: Morecambe, Lancashire, 13.0 hr.

TEMPERATURES AT MIDDAY YESTERDAY: C, cloud; F, rain; S, sun

City	Temp	Wind	Cloud
Aberdeen	8.0	18	64
Amsterdam	10.0	18	64
Belfast	12.0	18	64
Birmingham	11.0	18	64
Bristol	11.0	18	64
Bournemouth	12.0	18	64
Brighton	11.0	18	64
Bristol	11.0	18	64
Cardiff	11.0	18	64
Edinburgh	11.0	18	64
Exeter	11.0	18	64
Gloucester	11.0	18	64
Heathrow	11.0	18	64
Leeds	11.0	18	64
London	11.0	18	64
Lowestoft	11.0	18	64
Manchester	11.0	18	64
Milford	11.0	18	64
Morecambe	11.0	18	64
Newcastle	11.0	18	64
Newport	11.0	18	64
Nottingham	11.0	18	64
Plymouth	11.0	18	64
Salisbury	11.0	18	64
Scarborough	11.0	18	64
Sheffield	11.0	18	64
Southampton	11.0	18	64
Souths	11.0	18	64
Stirling	11.0	18	64
Stoke	11.0	18	64
Swansea	11.0	18	64
Torquay	11.0	18	64
Weymouth	11.0	18	64
Worcester	11.0	18	64

Temperatures at midday yesterday: C, cloud; F, rain; S, sun

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Scarborough	11.0	18	64
Sheffield	11.0	18	64
Southampton	11.0	18	64
Souths	11.0	18	64
Stirling	11.0	18	64
Stoke	11.0	18	64
Swansea	11.0	18	64
Torquay	11.0	18	64
Weymouth	11.0	18	64
Worcester	11.0	18	64

Yesterday: Temp: max 8am to 6pm, 25C (77F); min 6pm to 6am, 14C (57F). Humidity: 50%; sun 8pm to 6am, 14C (57F). Rain: 24hr to 6pm, 0.1 in. Sun: 24hr to 6pm, 0.1 in. Wind: 24hr to 6pm, 10.0 mph. Rain: 1,000 mm. Rain: 1,000 mm.

Yesterday: Temp: max 8am to 6pm, 19C (66F); min 6pm to 6am, 11C (52F). Rain: 24hr to 6pm, 0.1 in. Sun: 24hr to 6pm, 0.1 in. Wind: 24hr to 6pm, 5.3 hr.

Full moon August 20

Today: AM, HT, PM, HT

TODAY	AM	HT	PM	HT
London Bridge	10.17	5.6	11.21	5.8
Aberdeen	10.53	3.1	11.07	5.5
Amsterdam	8.25	5.0	4.21	5.9
Belfast	8.19	2.8	2.25	5.6
Cardiff	3.10	5.6	3.36	5.8
Departure	3.16	4.2	2.23	5.6
Dover	8.21	5.0	9.01	5.4
Falmouth	1.06	4.0	1.53	4.4
Glasgow	8.52	3.7	10.21	3.3
Harwich	8.30	3.0	9.39	3.2
Holyhead	8.00	4.1	8.28	3.4
Hull	2.49	5.8	3.58	5.9
Worceombe	2.36	5.4	3.27	5.8
King's Lynn	3.10	4.8	4.07	5.4
Leith			12.04	4.4

● BUSINESS AND FINANCE 21-26
● LAW TIMES 27, 28
● DEGREE RESULTS 30, 31
● LAW REPORT 32
● SPORT 32-36

Retail sales lift hopes for revival

RETAIL sales rose by 0.3 per cent in July, after a surprise 1.5 per cent surge in June, and lifted hopes of a consumer-led economic recovery this year.

But other official statistics confirmed the economy was still in recession in the second quarter. The gross domestic product declined 0.9 per cent from the first quarter for a 3.7 per cent drop year-on-year.

Excluding energy, which is subject to swings in output, gdp fell 0.6 per cent in the second quarter after a 0.9 per cent decline in the first, suggesting the worst was over, but that industrial production was still shrinking at about the same rate as last autumn.

Hopes boosted, page 22

Leucadia stake

Leucadia National Corporation, the American investment company, has increased its stake in Molins, the cigarette machinery maker, to 48.45 per cent. Leucadia made a takeover bid for Molins last year at 275p and was left holding a 46.85 per cent stake.

Under Takeover Panel rules Leucadia is forbidden from buying more until August next year.

Temps, page 22

TSB link talks

TSB Group is negotiating an alliance with a major European financial concern, less than one month before the expiry of the 5 per cent limit on shareholdings in the British bank. Don McCrickard, chief executive, said that alliances between institutions would be temporary moves on the route to complete mergers.

Details, page 22

Argos drops

Argos, demerged from BAT Industries in April last year, reports pre-tax profits of £10.7 million (£14.9 million) for the 24 weeks to June 15, on a turnover of £321 million (£312 million). The interim dividend rises to 2.1p (2p).

Temps, page 22

THE POUND

US dollar 1.6323 (-0.0297)
German mark 2.9581 (+0.0313)
Exchange index 90.2 (-0.1)

FT 30 SHARE

1975.9 (-66.0)
FT-SE 100 2540.5 (-80.5)
New York Dow Jones 2907.42 (-60.6)
Tokyo Nikkei Ave 21456.78 (-1357.61)

MAJOR CHANGES

FALLS:
BOC 562p (-17p)
ADT 522p (-18p)
MAG 535p (-22p)
Henderson Admin 575p (-40p)
Redland 542p (-25p)
RMC Group 625p (-37p)
Aerostar 547p (-16p)
Inchcape 364p (-18p)
Hawker Siddeley 561p (-25p)
Whitbread 455p (-18p)
Investment Dist 543p (-18p)
Guinness 554p (-35p)
Grand Met 504p (-19p)
Bass 504p (-21p)
Allied Lyons 588p (-22p)
Barclays 450p (-17p)
Lloyds 377p (-16p)
Northern Foods 450p (-17p)
Sothaby 737p (-37p)
Dunell 481p (-18p)
Lever 508p (-38p)

Closing Prices...Page 25

INTEREST RATES

London Bank Base 11%
3-month Interbank 10% 10%
3-month sterling bill 10% 10%
US Prime Rate 8 1/4%
Federal Funds 5 1/4%
3-month Treasury Bill 5.01-5.00%
30-year bonds 10 1/2-10 3/4%

CURRENCIES

London: £1.5323
New York: £1.5315
DM 1.5160
DM 1.5150
FF 1.5120
FF 1.5120
Yen 158.22
Yen 158.22
Yen 158.22
Yen 158.22
Yen 158.22
Yen 158.22

GOLD

London Gold: AM \$360.75 pm \$361.20
close \$361.20 \$361.70 (\$221.25)
251.75
New York: COMEX \$360.25-360.75

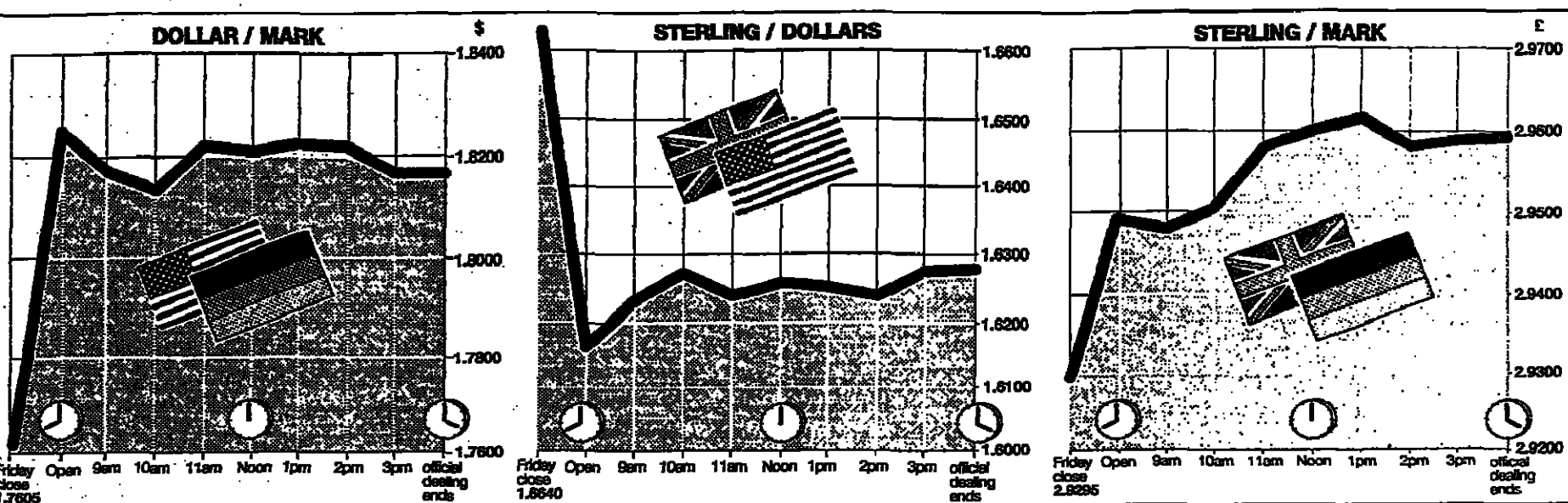
NORTH SEA OIL

Brent (Sep) \$20.50 bbl (\$16.35)
Dutchies latest trading price

RETAIL PRICES

RPI 133.8 July (1987=100)

Sterling caught in the crossfire as dollar soars and mark plunges



World markets slide as shares take fright on Red Monday

By OUR BUSINESS STAFF

WORLD markets reacted savagely to the overnight blast from the Soviet Union. But bargain hunting on Wall Street limited the damage as analysts began to consider the financial impact of what London dealers immediately dubbed Red Monday.

Deposits of President Gorbachev did not rate as severely in market terms as the falling dollar, which caused black Monday in October 1987. At midday in New York, the Dow Jones industrial average stood at 2,907.42, down 60.60, a recovery from a morning low of 2,860.91.

London closed down 80.5 at 2,540.5, having been more than 125 points down. It was the biggest London fall since October 26, 1987. Trading was thin and volatile, with almost 600 million shares changing hands. But yesterday's fall still topped the loss of 70.5 on October 16, 1989, caused by fears that Wall Street had dried up after the collapse of the United Airlines deal.

Analysts were last night puzzling over the statement from the committee now controlling the Soviet Union that they intended to press forward with economic reforms and that the main reason for their action had been the failure of perestroika to achieve such reforms.

"The committee that has taken over has indicated it wants to carry on with the reform process. But it's very difficult to say whether they'll be able to act with any authority," said Julian Cooper, di-

rector of the Centre for Russian and East European Studies at Birmingham University. "The grounds for action are there — the question is whether you tackle that by putting the brakes on or by accelerating the reform process."

Dealers said selling pressure had been minimal, with cheap buyers reported at the lower levels. There appeared to be no rush by fund managers to sell stock despite a savage market drop at the opening that saw the index drop almost 100 points in a half-hour. But attempts at a rally were scuppered as European markets posted sharp falls.

In Germany, share prices were still falling after the close of regular trading, with the worst fall for two years taking the 30-share Dax index down 155.40 points, or 9.4 per cent, to 1,497.93. Dealers said prices fell by as much as 1 per cent more in subsequent unofficial trading. But by the end of the day investors were on the lookout for bargains.

German economists said the chaos was exaggerated and the impact on the German economy would be limited.

Italian markets fell heavily, taking the Milan bourse down 7.49 per cent. The MIB index closed 79 points lower at 1,014 points. In France, the CAC-40 blue chip index fell 132.77 points to close at 1,687.54. Volume was very heavy at about 4.4 billion francs.

Markets in the Far East were open as the Soviet hard right seized control. In Hong Kong, share prices plunged 8.3 per cent, and Hang Seng index fell 340.5 points to 3,723. Turnover soared to HK\$2.74

billion (£211 million) from an average of HK\$1.2 billion last week.

Dealers remain concerned about events in the Soviet Union and the likely repercussions on the market. Peter Meinertzhagen, chairman of Hoare Govett, the broker,

said: "The markets will be moved by events. There is sufficient reason to believe that we have not seen the end of the crisis."

Comment, page 23
Reports, analysis, pages 1-8

Payment of \$60bn debt 'in jeopardy'

By ROSS TIEMAN AND WOLFGANG MÜNCHAU

REPAYMENT of \$60 billion of interest and capital owed by the Soviet Union to western banks may be suspended by the new Moscow regime, says an economist at PlanEcon, the Washington consultancy.

Keith Crane said: "There is a high probability they would default on their debt. I doubt they would renege but they would stop paying back interest and principal."

After rescheduling, \$9 billion is due to be repaid this year to commercial banks. However, most of the debt has been underwritten by western governments. Any moratorium on debt repayment would

quickly affect political relationships with the West. Western investment in the USSR is expected to be cut because of fears about the direction of the new regime.

The Confederation of British Industry has advised companies trading with the USSR to halt shipments temporarily. Exports from Britain slumped by 60 per cent during the first five months of this year over difficulties in obtaining payment, and the withdrawal of medium-term insurance cover by the Export Credits Guarantee Department.

Trade fears, page 23

Raising a goodbye glass to glasnost

By JON ASEWORTH

GORBACHEV had gone, but the band played on at Broadgate. City gents rolled up their sleeves in the sun yesterday lunchtime and relaxed to the New Orleans-style jazz of Max Collie's Rhythm Aces. Back on the dealing floors, all the money managers could do was sit back and wait.

Most dealers heard the news on their way to work and were expecting a heavy market-down. There was no panic selling, and dealers were quick to point out that after recent sharp rises on the stock market, yesterday's falls were not as bad as they looked. This was no Black Monday.

"The market's only back at the level it was earlier in the summer," said Patrick Houston, a specialist salesman at James Capel. "There's been a lot of selling and a

good volume, but it was orderly," James Chew, of County NatWest, who joined him in the Devonshire Colony wine bar, said: "This will certainly delay the recovery. It will take six months or so to get over this." A Spitting Image Gorbachev puppet glowered from a nearby shelf.

Patrons of Corney & Barrow, in Old Broad Street, were equally forlorn. "It is a great disappointment, and one can only think what a tragedy it all is," said Eric Edgill, of Credit Suisse Asset Management. "There is only one way for stock markets to go on a day like this."

Not everyone was surprised by the news. "We knew something was potentially on the cards if Gorbachev went back from the last G7 with no firm proposals on economic aid," a primary equity markets specialist said, at UBS

Phillips & Drew. "People have taken a 'wait and see' attitude."

Everyone had an opinion. The surge in the value of the dollar would help British exports. The strength of the pound against European currencies could pave the way for lower interest rates. None of this would hurt the Conservatives' chances in the next general election.

John Gutfreund, the newly deposed "King of Wall Street", got equal billing. "It's more a Salomons thing," Debbie Williams, of Henry Ansbacher, said. At the Greenhouse champagne and oyster bar, near the Royal Exchange, a shipbroker who did not wish to be named said: "We are hopeful that the massive grain imports will continue. If people have full bellies, they don't want to make trouble in the streets." Perhaps he hit the nail on the head.

Central banks support the mark

By NEIL BENNETT
BANKING CORRESPONDENT

THE world's central banks settled turbulent foreign exchange markets yesterday morning as investors scrambled to buy the dollar and sell the mark in the wake of Mikhail Gorbachev's downfall.

The dollar gained 6 pence against the mark in frantic trading in Far East markets when news broke of Mr Gorbachev's fate. By the start of trading in London, the mark had weakened to DM1.8245 against the dollar, compared with DM1.7605 on Friday.

By 9.30am, central banks led by the Bundesbank had intervened in foreign exchange markets, selling dollars and buying marks. The Bank of England was an important participant in the operation, along with the central banks of France, Belgium, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland and Japan.

The move was largely successful in settling foreign exchange markets. For the rest of the day the dollar traded in a range between DM1.8150 and DM1.8250. Currency traders reported little activity as companies and speculators waited to see how events in the Soviet Union will develop.

Sterling also benefited from the uncertainty in the world markets. At the start of trading in London it had climbed 2 pence against the mark to DM2.9493, and gained a further pence through the day.

During the day, the pound's position in the exchange-rate mechanism rose from seventh to fourth. It is now above the guilders and the mark and below only the peseta, the lira and the Belgian franc.

Sterling weakened, however, against the strong dollar. At one point in mid-morning it had fallen almost 5 cents from its position on Friday night. After the Bank of England's intervention the pound returned to \$1.6285, a net fall of 3.5 cents.

By the close of dealing, the pound's trade-weighted index was 90.2, only 0.1 lower than on Friday.

Economists predicted further falls in the mark and a rise in the dollar if the outlook in the Soviet Union worsens. Richard Jeffrey, the chief economist at Hoare Govett, said the events had highlighted the vulnerability of the German economy.

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Murdoch appointed News Corp chairman

RUPERT Murdoch has been appointed chairman and chief executive of The News Corporation, the international media group that owns The Times.

Richard Searby, QC, retired as chairman on Friday and has relinquished his full-time engagement with the company and its subsidiaries. Mr Searby, who was 60 last month, has been chairman of the group since 1981.

He will retain a connection with the group in an advisory capacity, becoming non-executive deputy chairman of The News Corporation and non-executive chairman of News Limited and of South China Morning Post (Holdings) Limited.

Mr Searby congratulated Mr Murdoch on his appointment. He praised Mr Murdoch for his achievements and thanked him for his support and friendship over the years. He said: "It has been a great pleasure to me to work with Mr Murdoch and his executives in the group during my term as chairman. They and all in News Corp have my warmest good wishes."

Mr Murdoch said: "News Corporation owes Mr Searby a great debt for his guidance and wisdom. He has made a great contribution over the decade which has seen The News Corporation firmly established as a leading international media group. He has been a strength to me personally and I thank him for all he has done."

National Power may change fuel

National Power is seeking consent to convert its 2,000 megawatt oil-fired plant at Pembroke to burn Orimulsion, a cheap emulsion of bitumen and water imported from Venezuela.

If approved by the Department of Energy and Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Pollution, the plant will be the first in Britain to switch permanently to using Orimulsion as a fuel.

National Power said output from the power station would be limited to ensure that emissions of sulphur and nitrogen oxide would be no greater than those currently permitted for burning oil.

Single-premium policy sales rise

Sales of single-premium insurance policies totalled £2,657 million in the second quarter of this year, a 26 per cent increase on the same quarter last year, figures from the Association of British Insurers showed.

The rise was mainly because of sales of income bonds which lock investors into guaranteed rates of interest. Single-premium individual assurance and annuity premiums rose by 26 per cent to £1,553 million and single-premium individual pension business was also up by 26 per cent to £1,104 million.

Income from annual premiums rose by 7 per cent to £825 million.

EFT defaults up

EFT Group, whose main activity is its asset finance division, says there is an increase in the level of default in the six months to end-June, and that £128,000 (£70,000) was charged against profit to cover bad debt. Pre-tax profit for the half year was £510,000 (£413,000) on a revenue of £3,733 million (£3,333 million). The interim dividend is 0.33p (0.3p) a share.

Rise of 0.3% in retail sales boosts hope for recovery

By COLIN NARBROUKE, ECONOMICS CORRESPONDENT

OFFICIAL figures showing retail sales up a provisional 0.3 per cent in July, after a surprise 1.5 per cent surge in June, gave a fresh boost to government confidence about the consumer-led recovery it expects this year.

But while the better-than-expected volume sales data reinforced the picture of an economy bottoming out after a severe recession, they left analysts in doubt over whether consumer confidence can pick up sufficiently to fuel an early recovery of any consequence.

Other data issued yesterday confirmed that the economy was still in recession in the second quarter. The output measure for gross domestic product fell 0.9 per cent from the first quarter for a year-on-year drop of 3.7 per cent.

Excluding the energy sector, which is subject to big output swings, gdp fell 0.6 per cent in the second quarter after a 0.9 per cent decline in the first, suggesting the worst was over, but that industrial production

was still shrinking at roughly the same rate as last autumn.

The Retail Consortium, a lobby group, acknowledged that the July sales figures were an improvement on earlier this year. But it called on the government to do everything possible to restore vital consumer confidence, proposing a further interest rate cut.

The consortium said the July results "continue to reflect an absence of consumer confidence, with relatively high savings and constrained retail purchasing". It noted that consumers had become bargain-conscious during the prolonged sales this year.

Simon Briscoe, economist at Midland Montagu, said the two consecutive months of rising retail sales could be a "fairly temporary blip", which could be reversed. He said the economy was clearly not about to race out of recession and that more interest rate cuts were needed.

He expects non-oil output to fall a further half per cent in the present quarter, with a return to quarter-on-quarter growth only next year.

Gerard Lyons, chief economist at DKB International, said retail sales were now giving "encouraging signs" about the economy bottoming out.

The question was how long it would stay on the bottom. With the pick-up starting from a very low level, the recovery in spending had to be broader based, he said.

In the latest three months, volume sales were 0.5 per cent below the previous quarter and 1.4 per cent lower than in the same period last year. In value terms, sales in July were 6.0 per cent higher than in July 1990, indicating a fall of 1 per cent after allowing for inflation.

TSB hints at European link



Three-act drama: Don McCrickard, TSB's chief executive, on the financial stage

THE head of the TSB Group has hinted that his bank is negotiating an alliance with a leading European financial group. The move coincides with the expiry next month of the 5 per cent limit on shareholdings in the bank (Neil Bennett writes).

Don McCrickard, TSB's chief executive, said in a speech in Nice, France, that co-operative agreements between banks and insurance companies are likely to continue throughout Europe.

Such joint ventures aim at increasing sales in separate and foreign markets in other EC countries rather than developing the whole of the European Community as one home market," he said.

Mr McCrickard's speech to the Unisys financial industry

seminar is clearly timed to settle some of the doubts about the future of the TSB. Since its flotation four years ago, the bank has been protected from a hostile bid by a 5 per cent limit on shareholdings.

This expires in September, and analysts have suggested this could leave TSB vulnerable, particularly after it reported a £150 million loss in the half-year to end-April.

Mr McCrickard gave no details of TSB's intentions, but a number of French and German banks and insurers are known to be keen to open a link with the British bank.

The speech made it clear that Mr McCrickard sees little future for TSB in its present form, operating solely in Britain.

Mr McCrickard compared the upheaval in Europe's finan-

cial industry to a three-act drama. In the first act, the traditional roles of banks, insurance companies and others were blurred. This has led in the second act to fierce competition and over-supply, which produced lower profits. The last act saw mergers and failures.

"Somewhere towards the end of act three I believe a small number of major players will seek to develop pan-European retail networks and surmount the barriers of culture and language which seem formidable," he said.

"They will be companies readily recognised throughout Europe for the strength of their brands. Their strategy will be truly global and their ownership not necessarily European. They will be among the real survivors."

BUSINESS ROUNDUP

Vaz to seek sheikh's help in BCCI rescue

KEITH Vaz, Labour MP for Leicester East, has flown to Abu Dhabi to urge its ruler to rescue the collapsed Bank of Credit and Commerce International. Mr Vaz and his delegation will today meet senior representatives of Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan al-Nahyan, the ruler of Abu Dhabi and BCCI's main shareholder. He plans to hand over letters to the sheikh from BCCI's depositors and staff.

He will also thank him for establishing the £50 million emergency compensation scheme, which is offering depositors up to £5,000 when BCCI's future is decided. Mr Vaz is trying to convince Sheikh Zayed to commit further funds to support a re-opening of the bank. Brian Smouha, the accountant from Touche Ross who is handling BCCI, is already in the Gulf. On Thursday, Mr Vaz will fly to Hong Kong to discuss the position of the bank there.

Payout held at Epwin

EPWIN Group, the USM double glazing and uPVC window maker, has held its interim dividend at 2.1p after half-time pre-tax profits fell by 39 per cent to £1 million for the six months to end-June. Turnover fell from £26.6 million to £19.7 million. Gearing was reduced from 33 per cent at the end of June 1990 to 20 per cent.

Hey & Croft losses widen

HEY & Croft Group, the East Anglia housebuilder quoted on the USM, increased losses to £1.3 million (£770,000) in the half year to end-April, on turnover of £5.6 million. There is again no interim dividend. Leonard Hey, chairman, said the interest rate cuts this year still had not resulted in any increased demand in the housebuilding sector.

Alliance Trust ahead

ALLIANCE, one of Britain's largest investment trusts, gave warning of "increased uncertainty" in stock markets after events in the Soviet Union. It also announced net assets per share up 24.3 per cent to £15.40 in the six months to end-July against a 19.3 per cent advance in the FT all-share index. Earnings per share rose only 4 per cent to 24.33p since July 31, 1990, due to increasing pressure on company profits and lower interest rates. The interim dividend is 14p (13p). Pre-tax revenue rose 3 per cent to £16.6 million (£16.1 million).

Ferranti sells to Siemens

FERRANTI International has agreed to sell Cardion Electronics, its American radar systems business, to Siemens Corporation for \$7.1 million. In the year to end March, Cardion produced sales of \$38.2 million and pre-tax profits of \$8 million. The proceeds will be used to reduce Ferranti's borrowings and fund its remaining businesses.

Loss halved at AmBrit

AMBRIT International, an independent oil and gas explorer, has reported a more than halved interim pre-tax loss of £25,000 (£190,000 loss) for the six months to end-June. Production was increased by 23 per cent to 778 barrels of oil a day and turnover was up 25 per cent to £1.38 million. Again there is no interim dividend.

BPP rises to £2.2m

BPP HOLDINGS, Britain's largest quoted education and training group, has announced a 12 per cent advance in interim pre-tax profits and a £4.6 million acquisition. Pre-tax profits for the six months to end-June rose from £2 million to £2.2 million on turnover of £19 million (£17.4 million). Earnings per share rose by 8 per cent to 6.4p, while the interim dividend moves ahead from 2.2p to 2.4p. BPP also said that it had acquired a 50 per cent stake in Metro, a training video publisher, for £4.6 million.

Time to consider selling Molins



Christmas hopes: Mike Smith of Argos yesterday

IT IS now just over a year since Leucadia was frustrated in its attempt to gain control at Molins, the cigarette machinery maker. Last August, it was foiled in a bid to oust the Molins management at a dramatic EGM skilfully chaired by Neil Clarke.

Unshackled from Takeover Panel restrictions, Leucadia has not wasted time in nibbling away at the 3 per cent or so that it needs to reach a majority holding. It can only go up to 48.85 per cent this year, but that may be enough to win board control if, as seems likely, it calls another EGM. If not, another 12 months would have to pass before Leucadia could get its hands on the final, clinching 2 per cent.

Given that option, it seems unlikely that Leucadia will go through the hassle and expense of another full bid, especially as the shares are now changing hands at 378p compared with the 275p Leucadia offered last time.

Despite this year's sharp rise, the shares have done little more than recover from their previous underperformance. They trade on a sector rating of about 10 at a small discount to asset value.

However, the downside

seems considerable if Leucadia decides to take profits and place the shares, or attempts to become the majority shareholder next year. Only the continuing possibility of a full bid seems capable of sustaining the shares at current levels. Leucadia has shown patience in waiting this long and seems capable of holding on for another 12 months.

Investors who do not wish to become minority shareholders in an illiquid engineering stock controlled by a little known American corporate raider should consider selling now.

Argos

THE original band of 140,000 shareholders in Argos who collected one "free" share in April, 1990, for every five then held in BAT Industries, is now down to 82,000, and the investor profile has shifted from individuals to institutions.

In the intervening period, the share price has risen from a 204p debut to touch a 337p high last week, and yesterday Argos announced well signalled lower pre-tax profits for the 24 weeks to June 15.

Considering the perceived sensitivity to consumer shopping trends, and a products range that stretches from

jewellery and DIY to hardware, furniture and toys, Argos's interim outcome, with profits at £10.7 million against £14.9 million, on a turnover of £320.7 million (£311.6 million) was surprisingly good.

The group's products strength is complemented by a strong cash backing, and should net cash balances reach £208.3 million at year-end (£151.5 million at last balance sheet date), they would be equal to 70.3p a share. Despite the pattern of lower interest rates, net interest received in the first half totalled £3.53 million (£4.79 million).

The five most important weeks for Argos come at year end, when an estimated 25 per cent of sales are transacted. But on the presumption that the consumer mood at Christmas is more confident than now, because of lower interest rates and inflation, then Mike Smith, the chief executive, could be looking at a 204p year-on-year profit, despite the interim fall.

Possible profits of £77.3 million (£73.1 million) put the shares at 320p, down 17p, on a prospective rating of 18.6 times. Sound enough for the long term, but they should not be chased.

Reform is rejected by HK market

From LULU YU IN HONG KONG

HONG KONG'S Securities and Futures Commission is expected to force the colony's stock exchange to rewrite its constitution, after the exchange's failure to adopt crucial reforms yesterday.

Exchange members blocked the passage of a special resolution which would give the bourse a non-profit status and broaden its representation of international brokers.

Exchange officials were confident the resolution - detailing a voluntary reform package - would win the required 75 per cent approval from its 688 members.

But of the 553 valid votes cast at yesterday's extraordinary general meeting, only 306 were in favour of the reforms, with 247 against.

Mr David Neadick, secretary for monetary affairs, said last night that he expected the securities watchdog to take action after consultation with government. Reforms were necessary.

Northern acquires Bodfari

By OUR CITY STAFF

NORTHERN Foods, the food manufacturer, has acquired Bodfari Foods, a Cheshire liquid milk processor and supplier, from the Pickering and Chantler families for an initial consideration of £20.7 million.

The payment is to be met through the issue of £8 million of loan notes and 2.5 million new shares. A further consideration of up to £5.2 million may be payable in June 1992, depending on Bodfari's future performance.

During the year to April 27, Bodfari made a pre-tax profit of £1.9 million on sales of £40.3 million. Net assets at the year-end were £2.6 million. The directors of Bodfari will all stay with the company.

Christopher Haskins, the chairman of Northern Foods, said: "The purchase continues our successful strategy of acquiring dairy businesses which offer significant opportunities to improve efficiency and customer service."

SKF

New SKF Life Theory

SKF, the world's leading manufacturer of rolling bearings, supports its commitment to product excellence with a significant advance in bearing theory.

Professor Eusebio Isard, based at SKF's main research centre in Gothenburg, Sweden, has developed a unique theory called the new SKF Life Theory that provides a more precise method of predicting SKF bearing life. This means that bearings can be designed by SKF to better match the

required performance of a particular customer application. It is often possible to use a smaller bearing than would have been predicted by conventional calculations with no loss of performance.

The new theory benefits the customer by lowering costs and optimising optimum product performance.

SKF Interim Statement
The six month period ending 30th June 1991 shows Group income

after financial income and expense amounting to SEK 63 million (£5.8m) compared with SEK 13.5m (£1.2m) in the corresponding period a year earlier. Sales during the period totalled SEK 13,78m (£1,267m) a decline of 6 per cent from sales of SEK 14,70m (£1,402m) for the same period in 1990.

In the U.S., which accounts for 29 per cent of Group sales, there are signs indicating an improvement in the economy. In Europe, where SKF has two-thirds of its

sales, the economy remains weak. In the present business climate, income after financial items for the second half of 1991 is expected to reach the income level of the corresponding period of 1990.

For a copy of the 1991 Half Year Report, please contact SKF Group Public Affairs, S-415 50, Gothenburg, Sweden. Tel +46 (31) 37 10 00.

Keying into
Lazards

Building backer

Moscow's threat to confidence

COMMENT

Yesterday may have been a day that changed the world, but will it change the prospects for the economy and the financial markets? After a few deep breaths, and despite the collapsing stock markets and gyrating currencies around the world, the answer is likely to be "no".

As with the invasion of Kuwait, the first reaction was bound to be a flight from risk and towards perceived safety. The collapse of stock markets was thus predictable, as was the surge in the dollar and the collapse of the mark, since Germany is the country most exposed to the instability in the East.

But such blips in the financial markets do not do much harm to themselves, as has been demonstrated repeatedly in 1987, 1989 and again after the Kuwait invasion last summer. The real question for managers, investors and, not least, for Norman Lamont and the British Treasury, is how badly consumers and business confidence is going to be shaken by these events.

The direct impact of trade with

the Soviet Union is going to be trivial for all of the leading economies. Even for Germany, considered in more detail later, the Soviet relationship is much more significant in political and military terms than in direct business terms. For Britain, which has done proportionately less business with the crumbling Soviet economy than its leading European Community partners, the exposure is negligible. In the period from January to May this year British exports to the Soviet Union totalled £143 million, or less than half of what was exported in the same period in 1990. Imports, at £319 million, were little changed.

The indirect impact could turn out to be much greater, but as in the case of invasion, the long-term economic effects will depend entirely on the way the conflict moves. The greatest danger to all Western economies would probably be from a resumption of the cold war with

an associated surge in military spending.

However, the more immediate economic effect would be on consumer confidence. In Britain, a further decline in confidence at this point could be an economic disaster. But this assumes no countervailing action from the government. If ever there could ever be a case for cutting interest rates to boost confidence and revive the British economy, it will be in the next few days, assuming the hardliners consolidate their power. Not only will a confidence boosting gesture from the government (perhaps in concert with other G7 powers) be economically and psychologically desirable, it would also be easier to sell to the financial markets.

Britain's greater scope for

allowing its currency to fluctuate against the other ERM units also ties its hands less than the hard core members of currency grid.

Dax panic

Bad news from the Soviet Union affects the German financial markets more than any other in Europe.

What yesterday's 155 point fall in Frankfurt's Dax share index does not reflect, as is sometimes assumed, is the potential damage to trading or business links between Germany and the Soviet Union. Since most joint ventures and eastern European business deals are loss making, at least in the short-to-medium perspective, an opposite market reaction would have been more logical, if fundamentals were indeed what

mattered. Since the Soviet Union accounts only for 3 per cent of German exports, the German market could hardly fall by 9.4 per cent, even if exports came to a complete halt.

What caused yesterday's market reaction is a combination of uncertainty and the belief in a worst-case scenario. The added uncertainty comes, of course, at a time when there is already enough uncertainty surrounding the domestic economy. This has also led to the 6 pfennig fall in the mark against the dollar, which, if sustainable, would raise the risk of imported inflation, and might therefore lead to even higher interest rates. Chances are, however, that the DM1.818 rate against the dollar, is about 10 pfennigs above the level one week ago, is not sustainable. German interest rates have risen, and might rise further, and American rates are on a downward trend. On fundamental grounds, rarely has the

mark looked so attractive for foreign investors as it did last night.

Frankfurt's worst-case scenario for the Soviet Union assumes that the hard-line coup is sustainable — which is far from certain — that the new rulers will default on international contracts and other obligations — which is even less certain — and that civil unrest or war would be the consequence.

That scenario would require the government's export insurance scheme to cover bad debts worth several billion marks to protect German banks and companies. It would also assume that more money will need to be paid for the withdrawal of Soviet troops, and it would assume an acceleration of mass immigration from the east. More seriously, however, it might entail a change in Nato policy towards disarmament, and in particular the strong reduction in the size of Germany's troops. Therefore markets also discounted the fall in or complete elimination of the peace dividend. But, fundamentally, the fierce market reaction smacks of panic.

Soviet trade: The United Kingdom

Payment problems obscure prospects for exporters

SIMON Engineering has been doing business in Russia ever since tsarist days, when Henry Simon, the company's founder, discovered a market for flour milling equipment.

Yesterday, work on Britain's largest contract with the Soviet Union, a £260 million electronic component factory being built by Simon at Yerevan, in Soviet Armenia, continued as normal. Payments are up to date, and Simon appears confident the plant will be completed next year.

Some British companies, however, have a rather less satisfactory experience of business with the Soviet Union. British exports to the USSR slumped 60 per cent in the first five months of this year because of difficulties suffered by many companies in receiving payment.

The trade department says several smaller firms "face severe financial difficulties" as a result. The slowdown has been exacerbated by the withdrawal of all medium-term cover for exports to the Soviet Union by the Export Credits Guarantee Department.

Perestroika has hindered, not enhanced, British trade with the Soviet Union. The devolution of power from central ministries to individual plants and regional governments has often left responsibility for foreign currency transactions in inexperienced hands. Some British exporters report payment delays of up to 18 months. In total, they are owed nearly £100 million.

The Soviet Union's other trading partners face similar difficulties. So acute is the problem that the Soviet central government published reforms intended to sort out the mess. "The USSR has historically had a first-rate record in repaying foreign debts," said a DTI spokeswoman.

However enthusiastic the Soviets are to acquire western technology and consumer goods, their ability to pay for them is constrained. The Soviet Union relies heavily on raw materials for its exports. Oil and gas sales are expected to account for 45 to 50 per cent of its forecast \$20 billion overseas revenues this year. Timber and metals account for much of the rest. Three-quarters of export earnings are expected to be consumed by interest and capital repay-



British trade with the USSR has increased despite, not because of, perestroika

ments on foreign debt, leaving just \$5 billion to finance imports of consumer goods and modern equipment.

Those pressures, and the failings of the Soviet economy, are reflected in the pattern of Soviet trade with Britain. Half of all Soviet exports to Britain are petroleum products; unprocessed cork and wood account for a further £170 million of sales. Lada cars, worth about £50 million last year, were easily the USSR's most valuable manufactured exports to Britain.

opportunities apparently opened up by reforms in the USSR. Many leaders of Britain's largest companies visited the Soviet Union to assess opportunities in response to personal appeals from Margaret Thatcher, former prime minister. Most concluded that the weak role of the price mechanism in the Soviet economy made it almost impossible to operate commercially.

Companies that have responded have opted for a very tentative approach to investment. Of the 3,400 joint

Several suggested the need for western expertise will remain no matter who is in power. British Airways even had the confidence to announce that its plans to set up Air Russia with Aeroflot, the Soviet airline, would not be affected.

Recent deals have begun to hold out brighter prospects for British exporters. Ford has just shipped the first consignment of a £34 million contract to supply 20,000 diesel engines to the Lada plant near Moscow. "We are concerned, but it is a little soon to start making judgments," said a spokesman.

Rover is producing 5,000 Montego and Maestro cars, with a showroom value of £5 million, for use by public authorities in Siberia. Rover said the deal had been conducted through a trading company and it was confident about receiving payment.

Last month, the DTI issued a circular stating "the Soviet market, if only for its sheer size (290 million mostly literate people) and abundance of natural resources, remains a good long-term prospect and companies established there are well advised to persist". In the shorter term, it said, caution was appropriate. That message remains unchanged.

ROSS TIEMAN
Industrial Correspondent

'Western expertise will be needed no matter who is in power'

Between 1985 and 1990, British exports to the Soviet Union rose from £537 million to just £606 million. British imports from the USSR, meanwhile, edged up from £724 million to £888 million. Cereals were Britain's most valuable export last year, at £133 million, followed by specialised machinery, chemicals, industrial machinery and scientific and control instruments.

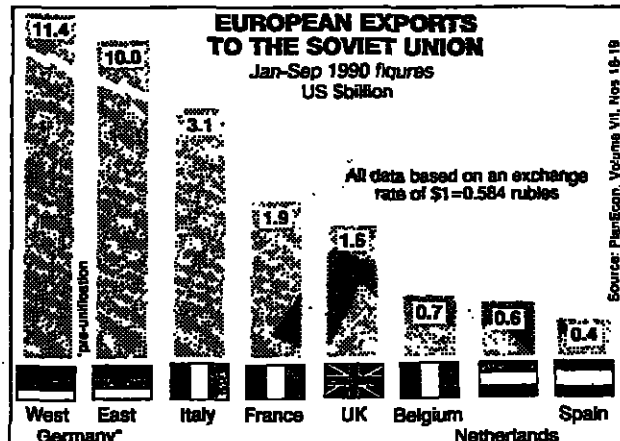
Even before the payment crisis, British businessmen were more wary than many international rivals about the

venture agreements registered between Soviet and foreign companies. Only 120 involve British firms. Many of those are still not operational. BP, Shell and British Gas have all taken tentative steps towards introducing western technology into oil and gas production in the USSR. Manufacturing ventures involve products as diverse as watches and footballs. But the sums invested by British companies remain small.

Yesterday they had little choice but to watch and wait.

Soviet trade: The European Community

Great risks involved in chances for investment



UNTIL yesterday, joint ventures and other deals with the Soviet Union were *de rigueur* for any self-respecting European company. But great investment opportunities also mean great investment risk.

The ousting of Mikhail Gorbachev means there is no country in Eastern Europe, perhaps in the world, where there is presently greater risk and greater uncertainty than in the Soviet Union.

Fiat, the Italian car maker, is one company that was in the middle of putting together a large deal. For Fiat, yesterday's events were not only regrettable, but could not have come at a worse time.

The company was in the final stages of negotiating what was believed to be the biggest deal so far between a western company and the Soviet Union.

The deal, announced last month, was for a 30 per cent holding in VAZ, the Soviet Union's main car maker and producer of Lada cars. Morgan Grenfell, acting for Fiat, and Bear Stearns, the New York investment house and adviser to the Soviet Union, were negotiating valuations.

The scheduled completion of the deal, for the production of 300,000 Lada cars a year at VAZ's production plant in Togliatti, 1,000 km south of Moscow, was only weeks away.

The deal was meant to be Fiat's equivalent of Volkswagen's agreement with Skoda. It was an opportunity to build a presence, in what could be, all things being equal, one of the largest car markets in the world.

It is likely that the Fiat and other deals are at risk. Fiat said yesterday that it was "too early to consider anything", but a spokesman admitted that "everybody is worried". A cloud hangs over what has been regarded as one of the most imaginative motor industry deals in recent years.

Fiat is the most prominent European company with strong Soviet Union links. Other firms, like Siemens, the German electronics group, also have agreements with the Soviet Union.

For most companies though, the effect of the events in the Soviet Union, should be limited because of insurance risk cover. It is governments, not companies, that will pay the big bills. For most companies, it is more a matter of wasted management time.

By itself, a headline takeover would have been of relatively little importance, if it was not for the prospect of civil unrest, if not outright civil war, in which case direct investments and trade would

come to a halt. Soviet trade, after rising constantly in the latter half of the Eighties, has slowed down markedly this year. Soviet trade with the former Comecon block has virtually collapsed during this year, with imports down by about 45 per cent in the first quarter.

The deterioration of the Soviet economy and yesterday's events are serious for western, particularly German banks, which have the largest exposure.

The Soviet Union's total debt to the West amounts to about \$60 billion, of which

\$12 billion, in principal and interest was due for repayment this year. About \$3 billion have been rescheduled, which leaves \$9 billion.

Deutsche Bank is the European bank with the largest exposure. It is owed DM5 billion, of which DM300 million are unsecured. Since most bank lending has been well secured, the military crackdown in the Soviet Union will affect primarily the German government's already strained budget deficit, rather than the banks themselves.

Keith Crane, an economist at PlanEcon, the East Euro-

pean economic consultancy based in Washington, believes that debt repayment will be frozen. "I would expect that there is a high probability they would default on their debt. I doubt they would renege, but they would stop paying back interest and principal."

The implication for investments and direct trade are even worse. There are about 3,000 western joint ventures in the Soviet Union, capitalised at \$2.3 billion, but western companies are likely to be extremely cautious.

Dr Crane believes that "no one in his right mind will be jumping at the Soviet Union at this stage. A reversal to the old planning system would be catastrophic. The economy has already been in a virtual freefall since the beginning of this year. There is no way to put the Humpty-Dumpty back together again."

The steep fall on continental bourses is not so much a reflection of a change in fundamentals, which result directly from the likelihood of payment default or because of other bad commercial agreements that might turn sour, but a reflection of the wider economic and fiscal implications of default.

The ousting of President Gorbachev, the man everybody in the West could do business with, is a reminder that European business, just like European politics, remains fraught with risk, as it always has been.

The European markets' euphoria about perestroika and the peaceful revolutions in Eastern Europe are now a thing of the past.

WOLFGANG MÜNCHAU
European Business Correspondent

Keying into Lazards

ROBIN Key, one of the leaders in the fight to save Globe Investment Trust last year, has moved on for the second time in six months. After a brief spell at River & Mercantile, where he ran UK fund management, he has joined Lazard Brothers in a similar role. The takeover battle for Globe, then the UK's biggest investment trust, by the British Coal pension funds, was one of the main stories of last year. Its loss was seen as a blow to Britain's investment trust industry. Key, who had been responsible for UK and European investment management at Globe, worked alongside David Hardy, the former Globe chairman, during the hard-fought campaign.

Doodlebug backer
TONY Silvester, the "hidden face" of Duran Duran, the pop group in the early Eighties, and former partner of Arthur

THE TIMES CITY DIARY

Young, the accountant, has joined the Birmingham offices of Neville Russell to do the same again. Silvester, who was financial adviser to the pop group, predicts great things for his latest discovery, a band called Doodlebug. "It's almost a re-run of Duran Duran," says Silvester, who will specialise in business management for the entertainment industry. So if hordes of screaming teenyboppers stake out the offices, partners have only themselves to blame.

Peace offering
IT WAS fortunate that the trains were running on time at Euston yesterday morning, or BR's staff would have been ribbed (or worse) by the early regulars. Instead, it was grins

all round from those wide enough awake to recognise that the station's new continuous music system for appealing the customers was belting out a nice orchestral version of *O, for the wings of a dove*.

Selling the silver

QUICK-WITTED entrepreneurs throughout history have acted on the principle that every financial disaster throws up juicy business opportunities. Witness the latest edition of *Lloyd's Log*, a magazine for members of the London insurance market. Nestling cheek by jowl with articles about the disastrous losses of 1988 is an advertisement from Carlton Hobbs, the antique dealer. Names despairing of ever paying off those Lloyd's

losses are encouraged to offer up those precious family heirlooms in return for "unusual prices". The examples given in the advertisement include a £100,000 pair of mirrors, a £78,000 chair, and a solid looking "bureau bookcase" valued at £350,000.

Prudent Abbey

EVER wondered what all those mailshots cost? Where the Abbey National is involved, the answer is £250,000 a time. Changes in interest rates have cost the Abbey £1 million this year in printing and postal costs and, to save money, the Abbey has switched its mailing base to Douglas on the Isle of Man. It all seems a bit strange, since letters prepared on the main-

land are flown to Douglas, only to be posted right back. However, the Abbey, which has 1.3 million home owners on its books, seems to know what it is doing. One estimate puts the saving at 4p per letter — slicing £42,000 off the cost of each mailing.

Mersey blues

ANOTHER small chapter of City life ends next month with the closure, by UBS Phillips & Drew, of its small girls division in Liverpool. Six years ago, P&D bought its way into Liverpool by purchasing Moulds, a firm that had John Woolfenden as senior partner. Woolfenden, now group compliance officer at P&D, says the existing business will be transferred to London. He is keen to find other positions for his former staff. "Many of them have been with us for a long time and have been very efficient and very loyal." The division closes at the end of next month, and 16 jobs are to go.

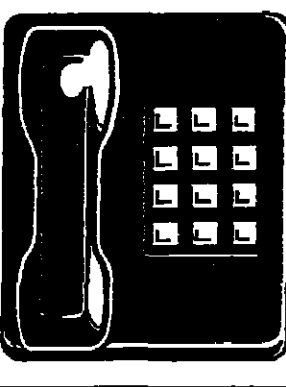
JON ASHWORTH

IT WASN'T ONLY GORBACHEV THAT FELL OVERNIGHT.

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STOCK MARKET

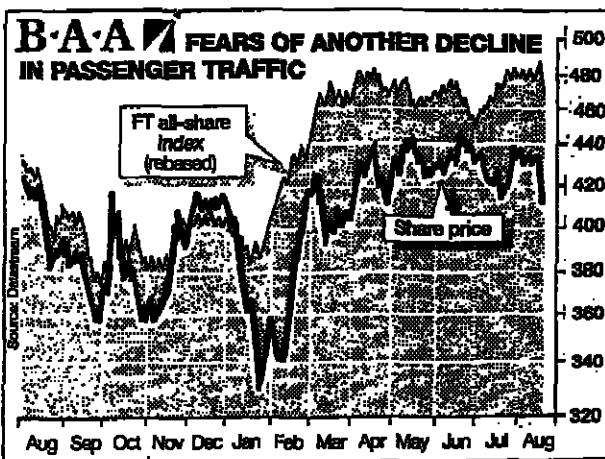
Fears of instability send London shares sliding

THE equity market in London suffered its biggest one-day fall since the crash of October 1987. News that hardliners had replaced Mikhail Gorbachev took traders by surprise and prompted a savage mark-down that sent investors scurrying for cover.

The falls wiped out most of the recent gains. Fears of instability arising from events in Moscow hit world financial centres, with London taking its lead from a near 1,400-point overnight fall in Tokyo. During the first half hour of trading the FT-SE 100 index fell nearly 100 points before steadying. But when other European markets, including Frankfurt, posted heavy opening losses, prices in London again started to deteriorate.

At its worst, the index was showing a deficit of 125.3. But an impressive rearguard action in New York enabled London to reduce the fall. The index ended a volatile session 80.5 lower at 2,540.5 - its biggest one-day fall since October 26, 1987 - while the narrower FT index of 30 shares shed 66.6 at 1,975.9.

Prompt action by market-makers in calling prices lower meant that selling pressure was contained. A total of 598 million shares eventually changed hands, failing to justify the large falls recorded. Dealers reported that turnover at the lower levels had been boosted by the appearance of a few cheap buyers. One leading broker remarked: "We have not seen the selling develop



that might be associated with such a fall. Fund managers are keeping their heads down and waiting to see how the situation in Moscow develops."

Government securities finished off the bottom helped by a firmer US bond market. At the longer end, prices finished

little changed after clawing back losses of more than 1%. The mark-down was across the board, but particularly savage among international stocks quoted in New York and other centres. Among these there were setbacks for takeover favourite ICI, down 67p at £12.61p, Hanson 5p to

209p, BOC Group 27p to 552p, Glaxo 52p to £12.81, SmithKline Beecham 19p to 766p, ADT 16p to 523p, Wellcome 29p to 702p and BAT Industries 30p to 712p.

The threat of colder relations between East and West hit those companies con-

nected with the travel industry. British Airways which is proposing a link-up with a Soviet airline, fell 12p to 174p. The possibility of another drop in the number of passengers handled also left BAA 19p lower at 417p. BAA, which operates Britain's biggest airports, including Gat-

wick, Heathrow, Stansted and Manchester, reported a sharp downturn in passenger traffic during the Gulf war. Numbers have since improved, but events in Moscow are likely to hinder a full recovery. Euro-tunnel was another fall, losing 32p to 430p.

There were also losses for leisure companies such as Euro Disney, 93p to £12.20, Eurocamp 9p to 237p, Owners Abroad 8p to 97p, and Ladbrokes 16p to 254p. Recent high-flyer Airtours tumbled 47p to 618p following a mention in the *Temper* column.

Further reflection on the latest beer production figures, showing a near 13 per cent drop, left the drink companies flat. Allied-Lyons retreated 23p to 567p, Bass 2p to 904p, Guinness 35p to 953p, Grand Met 18p to 804p, Scottish & Newcastle 14p to 410p, and Whitbread A 23p to 491p.

Insurance shares managed to claw back early losses stemming from worries about the effects of Hurricane Bob. Commercial Union fell 25p to 505p, General Accident 26p to 530p, GRE 7p to 179p, and Royal 27p to 388p.

The German economy, already struggling under the cost of unification, is expected to suffer further. British companies with strong interests there suffered accordingly. Queens Meat Houses, with a big European expansion programme, fell 7 1/2p to 81p, Redland 33p to 538p, and RMC 41p to 620p.

MICHAEL CLARK

TOKYO

Nikkei suffers fifth-biggest drop

Tokyo PRICES plunged in fairly heavy trading, with the Nikkei index closing at its lowest since October 1 after its fifth-largest drop. The Nikkei dropped 1,357.61 points, or 5.95 per cent, to 21,456.76.

The news from the Soviet Union brought excess supply on to the market faster. Local reports on the possibility that the replacement of Mikhail Gorbachev was a coup d'état and on rumours that he was dead further heightened ner-

vousness and hastened selling. The market spent a quiet morning sliding on Wall Street's 30-point decline on Friday and the peaking of margin-position expirations this week.

The Nikkei was down by 234.95 points at midday. But on news of Mr Gorbachev's replacement, the Nikkei index plunged more than 1,200 points at the afternoon opening. Bargain-hunting halved those losses but then ran out of steam and increased

speculation by investors and the local media sent prices down again. The Nikkei ended at its lowest close since last October's 20,221.86, hit by its fifth-largest drop and ninth largest percentage drop.

Turnover rose to an estimated 360 million shares, the highest in six weeks, compared with 220 million on Friday. Falling shares greatly outnumbered rises, with 1,015 issues lower, 22 higher and 25 unchanged.

The main declining sectors

were the broking, communications, electrical, banking, pharmaceuticals, non-life insurance, service, retail, airline, and railway/bus sectors. No sectors gained. No trends stood out.

The five most traded issues were Mitsubishi Material, down 44 yen to ¥516, Nippon Steel, down ¥15 to ¥380, Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, down ¥40 to ¥625, Hitachi, down ¥60 to ¥990, and Daiichi Zosen, down ¥16 to ¥584.

(Reuters)

Dow slumps 74 points in morning trading

New York BLUE chips fell in mid-morning trading as concern about the overthrow of President Gorbachev made investors fearful. The Dow Jones industrial average was 74.91 points down at 2,893.11 at 10.45am, having been as many as 107 points lower.

Falling shares outnumbered gainers by 15 to one. More than 51 million shares changed hands. Alfred Goldman, the technical research director at AG Edwards and Sons, said: "We're getting a fair amount of panic, but I'm not sensing capitulation. But panic dumping will create buying opportunities."

□ Sydney - Prices went into free-fall as panic selling wiped

4.1 per cent from the leading index. The all-ordinaries index plummeted 64.9 points to 1,502.1, the biggest one-day fall since October 16, 1989, when the market crashed 141.3 points.

Heavy selling reported from Tokyo was concentrated in top shares. The 20 leaders' index lost 5 per cent. The industrial sector led the downward charge with the all-ordinaries index crashing 109.5 points, or 4.5 per cent, to 2,288.7. At one point, the all-ordinaries had smashed through 1,500. The all-reports index slumped 31.7 to 896.9. A heavy 116.7 million shares, valued at Aus\$280 million (£134 million), were traded.

(Reuters)

Panic hits Hang Seng

Hong Kong THE Hang Seng index tumbled 340.53 points, or 8.38 per cent, to 3,722.75, the largest one-day loss since the Chinese crackdown in June 1989. "The market's too panicked, it's irrational," said Willie Chan, chief broker at Crosby Securities. "London and Japan kept dumping shares in the afternoon so the index kept falling." Some buying emerged in late afternoon from local bargain-hunters.

The broader Hong Kong index dropped 222.48 points to finish at 2,438.9. Turnover totalled a hectic HK\$2.7 billion.

Straits index dives 6.1%

Singapore SHARES plunged as investors scrambled to unload. The Straits Times industrial index lost 84.51 points, or 6.1 per cent, to 1,309.23, above the day's low of 1,269.34. "The market reacted violently to the news. There was panic selling," one broker said. "If Wall Street falls sharply tonight, I expect the local market to come under further pressure tomorrow." Bargain-hunting emerged after the index fell well below 1,300. Declining shares accounted for 294 to 10 with turnover sharply up at 122 million.

Dax falls below 1,500

Frankfurt SHARES took their worst hammering since October 1989. The Dax index plunged 155.4 points, or 9.4 per cent, to 1,497.93, although some bargain-hunting emerged at lower levels.

Juergen Roethig, director at Barclays de Zoete Wedd, said: "Any real mispricing brought the bargain-hunters out."

He added that a fall of almost 10 per cent in the market meant that most Soviet Union risk was already factored into prices. He said:

"The fact that many shares ended well off their lows shows the market is well able to handle this crash." Dealers said that a near-term price recovery was unlikely, although the market might show a slight uptick. "If the Dow Jones falls 500 points today obviously we will fall again tomorrow," one trader said. But some were more optimistic. Roethig von Rosen, house chief executive, said: "In the past, political events have only had a short-term effect on prices."

(Reuters)

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THE TIMES UNIT TRUST INFORMATION SERVICE

UNLISTED SECURITIES

INVESTMENT TRUSTS

MONEY MARKETS

COMMODITIES

LONDON FOK				SUGAR (POB)				LONDON OIL REPORTS (S&P-L28) - London Oilprice			
COFFEE				C Cinnamon				A military coup in the Soviet Union sent prices commensurate soaring.			
COCOA	254.625	Nov	254.625	SUGAR (POB)	180.5-82.4	Dec	180.5-82.4	CRUDE OILS (Russett POB)			
Dec	271.870	Nov	241.540	Dec	180.5-82.4	Dec	180.5-82.4	Brant 15 day (Sep)	20.50	+1.15	
Jan	271.710	Nov	241.540	Dec	180.5-82.4	Dec	180.5-82.4	Brant 15 day (Oct)	21.50	+1.10	
Feb	271.710	Nov	241.540	Dec	180.5-82.4	Dec	180.5-82.4	W Texas Intermediate (Sep)	22.30	+1.10	
Mar	271.710	Nov	241.540	Dec	180.5-82.4	Dec	180.5-82.4	W Texas Intermediate (Oct)	22.30	+1.10	
Apr	271.710	Nov	241.540	Dec	180.5-82.4	Dec	180.5-82.4	W Texas Intermediate (Nov)	22.30	+1.10	
May	271.710	Nov	241.540	Dec	180.5-82.4	Dec	180.5-82.4	W Texas Intermediate (Dec)	22.30	+1.10	
Jun	271.710	Nov	241.540	Dec	180.5-82.4	Dec	180.5-82.4				
Jul	271.710	Nov	241.540	Dec	180.5-82.4	Dec	180.5-82.4				
Aug	271.710	Nov	241.540	Dec	180.5-82.4	Dec	180.5-82.4				
Sep	271.710	Nov	241.540	Dec	180.5-82.4	Dec	180.5-82.4				
Oct	271.710	Nov	241.540	Dec	180.5-82.4	Dec	180.5-82.4				
Nov	271.710	Nov	241.540	Dec	180.5-82.4	Dec	180.5-82.4				
Dec	271.710	Nov	241.540	Dec	180.5-82.4	Dec	180.5-82.4				
Vol: 10910				Vol: 4922							
ONE LONDON GRAIN FUTURES				PRODUCTS (Russett Sep)				S&P 500 (Russett Sep)			
WHEAT				S&P 500 (Russett Sep)				S&P 500 (Russett Sep)			
BARKLEY				S&P 500 (Russett Sep)				S&P 500 (Russett Sep)			
H-PID BOTA				S&P 500 (Russett Sep)				S&P 500 (Russett Sep)			
Close (C)				S&P 500 (Russett Sep)				S&P 500 (Russett Sep)			
Dec	111.35	Sep	110.20	Dec	132.50	Dec	132.50	Dec	132.50	Dec	132.50
Jan	111.35	Sep	110.20	Dec	132.50	Dec	132.50	Dec	132.50	Dec	132.50
Feb	111.35	Sep	110.20	Dec	132.50	Dec	132.50	Dec	132.50	Dec	132.50
Mar	111.35	Sep	110.20	Dec	132.50	Dec	132.50	Dec	132.50	Dec	132.50
Apr	111.35	Sep	110.20	Dec	132.50	Dec	132.50	Dec	132.50	Dec	132.50
May	111.35	Sep	110.20	Dec	132.50	Dec	132.50	Dec	132.50	Dec	132.50
Jun	111.35	Sep	110.20	Dec	132.50	Dec	132.50	Dec	132.50	Dec	132.50
Jul	111.35	Sep	110.20	Dec	132.50	Dec	132.50	Dec	132.50	Dec	132.50
Aug	111.35	Sep	110.20	Dec	132.50	Dec	132.50	Dec	132.50	Dec	132.50
Sep	111.35	Sep	110.20	Dec	132.50	Dec	132.50	Dec	132.50	Dec	132.50
Oct	111.35	Sep	110.20	Dec	132.50	Dec	132.50	Dec	132.50	Dec	132.50
Nov	111.35	Sep	110.20	Dec	132.50	Dec	132.50	Dec	132.50	Dec	132.50
Dec	111.35	Sep	110.20	Dec	132.50	Dec	132.50	Dec	132.50	Dec	1

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Some acts are just too hard to follow

Legislation needs overhauling to make it simpler, James Goudie, QC, argues

Legislation is becoming increasingly inaccessible. It is hard to find and, once found, it is becoming impossible to understand. Take a statute such as the recent Local Government and Housing Act. When enacted, it might not be available at the Stationery Office until some weeks later. The latest print of the bill will not include the latest amendments, and change and section numbers will not correspond.

And no sooner has a statute been enacted than it may be subject to massive amendment, as with the Criminal Justice Act 1987 by the 1988 act. The former is then misleading without the latter, and the latter incomprehensible without the former.

One answer is consolidation on a comprehensive and continuing basis of the variety of statutes covering a particular area of the law. The user then needs turn only to one statute in which all the legislation on, or relating to a subject, could be structured and clarified.

But at present, even when legislation is consolidated, it may then be subject to immediate changes. The consolidating Town and Country Planning Act 1990 is already being followed by the biggest changes in planning law for 20 years in the Planning and Compensation Bill.

Primary legislation may be changed by statutory instrument made under other primary legislation: the so-called Henry VIII clause, of which there has been a flurry in recent years. Moreover, legislation almost never comes into force on a single date.

Different sections, and even subsections, are brought into effect (by a succession of commencement orders) on different dates over a period that may run to years. Some provisions may never be brought into effect. For example, the final commencement order in respect of the Consumer Credit Act 1984 was made in 1989. A table containing an outline guide to the commencement dates runs to 11 pages.

Then there is the problem of finding out how a statute currently stands. This can

involve an elaborate and time-consuming paper chase. Although the legislation is rarely skeletal, a mass of flesh is often added by statutory instruments, drafted in different offices from the statutes themselves, and subject, in practice, to a minimum of parliamentary scrutiny, with the negative resolution procedure being preferred to the more effective affirmative procedure.

If a person has not already been defeated in the quest to discover what statutes and statutory instruments are currently in force, he or she is then confronted with the task of divining what they mean.

A judge, who in a summing up incants the words of the statute, for example, the Theft Act, is likely to be met by blank looks from the jury. If the judge is able to paraphrase the statute in a way that is simple and suited to a lay audience, then one must ask whether this could not have been done by Parliament in the first place.

The main problems are the attitude of government (which promotes and drafts virtually all the legislation that Parliament enacts) and the legislative process itself. The content of the law must be made more accessible and comprehensible to the public.

Much more regard should be paid to the needs of the user. First, all legislation, including statutory instruments, should be contained in its latest form and largely in one place, so that the user can find all statute law on that subject quickly and conveniently. All statutory instruments enacted under a statute should be appended to it when republished.

New provisions relating to a subject covered by an existing act should be incorporated by textual amendment into that act and not form a separate statute. New and amending legislation should be published in a form that allows quick and easy updating.

Second, it is important that publication should always be before the date on which the statute comes into force. That



Paper chase: finding out how a statute currently stands can involve time-consuming research at the Lincoln's Inn library where volumes of complex legislation are stored

'Legislation that is unintelligible is the negation of the rule of law and of democracy'

instruments are appropriate.

Third, legislation should (in the European tradition) state its purpose, and lay down general principles. It should avoid, whenever possible, trying to cover every situation, and then having to be amended at every available parliamentary occasion and, once enacted, and new situations are thought of, having to be further amended.

Legislation originates in government departments. Yet it is at this early stage when

was clear and comprehensive before coming before parliament. Legislation must also be expressed in clear and simple language, avoiding the confusing legalistic style of drafting which predominates in most existing statutes.

The Maintenance Enforcement bill is a typical example both of extraordinary complicated provisions for the most part incomprehensible to the persons affected by them, and of numerous earlier statutes being amended.

Wansboroughs Willey Hargrave of Bristol say that while it obviously does not qualify, it could not resist the challenge to beat Freshfields (Inns and Outs, August 13) and wants to nominate Greenwoods, Peterborough; Bird and Bird, London and, perhaps best of all, Field Fisher Waterhouse, London.

Child guide

IN THE wake of the disclosures about the "pindown" regime in Staffordshire children's homes, the treatment of disturbed children is examined in a new mental health handbook from the Children's Legal Centre. It is intended as a guide to young people, mental health and the law.

The centre also makes a series of policy recommendations which emphasise involving children in decisions affecting their treatment and welfare.

It has found a low level of knowledge about children's rights among children themselves and their carers; and also a tendency to segregate and restrict the liberty of disturbed children unnecessarily and sometimes illegally.

Both the Children Act 1989 and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, which the UK government has said it will ratify, accord a greater measure of self-determination to children and young people.

In a disturbing number of cases, mildly unhappy children from relatively stable backgrounds are caught in a downward spiral of inappropriate treatment. The centre says that such cycles can be broken only if those entrusted with the care of children are prepared to listen to them.

The name game

ONE more (and final) contribution to our debate on environmentally-named law firms.

SCRIVENOR

Why let windbags waffle on so long?

THE art of advocacy has received little attention from legal theorists. No doubt they are reluctant to witness pain, and to subject themselves to agony, in the interests of their science. Robert J. Martineau, the distinguished research professor of law at Cincinnati university, is a notable exception. For three months at the end of 1987, he forced himself to study the performance of our advocates in the Court of Appeal at the Royal Courts of Justice.

The result was not, as might be expected, the removal of the professor by men in white coats to a quiet place in which he could make a steady recovery. He survived the ordeal and has now published the fruits of his research, *Appellate Justice in England and the United States: A Comparative Analysis* (William S. Hein & Co, New York, \$60).

Professor Martineau is not aiming to win friends in the Temple. He says that few of the barristers he observed understood basic principles of public speaking. Their arguments were unstructured and their preparation inadequate. "Some barristers appeared to think that it was essential to say, 'My Lord' at least once in every sentence," he says. The basic approach of the barrister "was to raise as many issues as possible... in the hope that some point would find favour with the court". In "most of the appeals" that Professor Martineau heard argued by Queen's Counsel, "the QC was unable to answer even the simplest question about the appeal and had to turn to his junior counsel for advice on how to respond".

In the United States, in contrast with England, oral advocacy in appellate courts is confined to less than an hour for each party. Yet Professor Martineau found that the English advocate, who tended to address the court for a day or more, spent no more time than his or her American counterpart in arguing the central point in a case. The remaining court hours occupied by the English barrister were devoted to finding and reading documents and authorities, or by preliminary submissions that could more efficiently be made in writing. Professor Martineau concluded that lengthy oral advocacy in appellate proceedings is ineffective and inefficient.

Even if all English barristers had the skills of Cicero, it is difficult to justify the willingness of the English judge to spend his professional life listening (or at least appearing to listen) to the counsel's long submissions. Legal authorities and documents are slowly recited to judges, whose own ability to read is not in doubt, and who could therefore more efficiently acquaint

themselves with the material in private in a fraction of the time, leaving the advocate to draw attention to particular passages on which special reliance is placed.

English barristers have no difficulty in accommodating themselves to the practice in the European Court of Justice in Luxembourg and the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg of supplementing written submissions with oral argument of about 30 minutes.

Barristers have not always been prepared voluntarily to obey the essential principle of effective advocacy - keep it short and to the point - so changes are being made in the regulation of advocacy, which will have the welcome effect of cutting the amount of court time occupied by oral argument.

The Court of Appeal applies a Practice Direction, making compulsory the provision of written skeleton arguments. The success of this in limiting unnecessary oral advocacy should encourage other courts to move in the same direction.

Lord Templeman has suggested that "the length of oral argument permitted in future appeals (to the House of Lords) should be subject to prior limitation". Professor Martineau's observations about the quality of English advocacy are controversial. He does not record whether the appeal court judges shared his opinions. Any critic must recognise the unusual demands of the advocate's job. Fellow lawyers can only empathise with a United States defence counsel who told the jury in his closing speech that he was doing his job "to the best of my ability with what I have had to work with". However hard the advocate tries, the judge may not appreciate his efforts. In 1982, the Supreme Court of Michigan censured a judge for responding to counsel's submissions by declaring "whether your client is guilty or innocent, you're a despicable son of a bitch".

Professor Martineau's conclusions about the need to confine the amount of advocacy are, however, compelling. As the legal system strains under the pressure of too many cases to be decided by too few judges, serious consideration should be given to whether unlimited quantities of court time should continue to be made available to long-winded lawyers. If advocates are not able to make short submissions, they may find the hitherto tolerant English judiciary imitating the Canadian judge who is said to have dismissed a lengthy legal argument with the short judgment: "Bullshit, costs to the respondent".

David Pannick is a practising barrister and a Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford



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LITIGATION TEAM TO £150,000
Highly regarded Central London firm with excellent corporate and banking practice seeks dynamic litigation partner with contacts to spearhead the growth of its contentious practice.

HK CORPORATE TO £45,000
Leading international firm requires solicitor with at least 2 years' corporate finance experience gained at top City firm for Hong Kong secondment. First rate expatriate package.

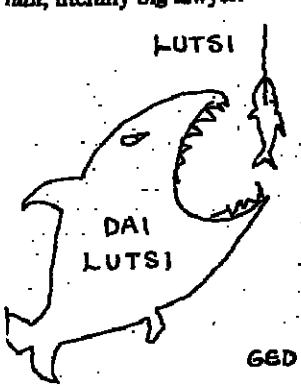
TAX TO £70,000
International City firm with unparalleled corporate client base seeks tax expert, ideally 4-7 years qualified, to boost corporate tax team. Excellent academics and City experience are prerequisites. Clear route to partnership.

Chinese puzzle

AS Hong Kong accelerates towards a Chinese future, the legal profession in the colony is grappling with what to call itself - a task which is proving high impossible for a group often seen to be stodgier than its British counterpart.

A recent ordinance requires all future legislation to be published in both English and Cantonese.

That requirement has given rise to all sorts of semantic tangles - particularly, for the colony's divided profession, on the best way to translate barrister and solicitor. In Cantonese, the word for solicitor is *lutsi* while barrister is *dai lutsi*, literally big lawyer.



The Hong Kong Law Society is up in arms, insisting big lawyer is demeaning to solicitors. For its part, the Bar Committee, which represents the barristers, has just issued a pamphlet on the origins of the title. The offending words stem apparently from the Cantonese slang for Supreme Court, *dai court law*. The term has been used for 150 years and, the pamphlet argues, there is no good reason for changing it, least of all at the behest of the lowly *lutsi*.

INNS AND OUTS

Fighting fakers

PIRACY is alive and kicking along the Gulf coast. The trade in fake goods in the region accounts for a large part of the estimated annual \$55.2 billion international trade in counterfeit goods, although putting accurate figures together on the issue is impossible.

Last month the United States Trade Representative sent a team to the region to try to get the Gulf states to clean up their act. Several of the states, including the United Arab Emirates, do not have any intellectual property protection legislation and others, such as Saudi Arabia, do not enforce the law.

But US companies, which lose an estimated \$23.7 billion a year worldwide through counterfeiting, are fighting a losing battle. Fake goods sell like hot cakes at a fraction of the genuine price and the quality often matches that of the real thing.

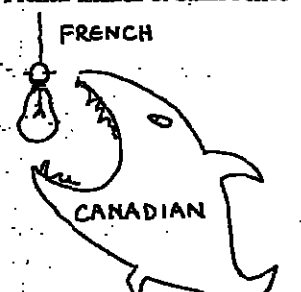
No frills thrills

ARBITRATION's main benefit is that it provides dispute resolution without the wigs and the frills and that it is cheaper.

But does this make it dull? Not necessarily, particularly when a European country and its former colony are locked in battle on opposite sides of the table.

The Canadian justice minister, Kim Campbell, representing her country against her French counterpart, Henri Nallet, has launched an expected three weeks of argument before an international court of arbitration in Manhattan.

Her accusations against France include "surrealism", "flights of the imagination" and "covert imperialism". The dispute concerns the tiny French islands of Saint Pierre and Miquelon, about 12 miles northwest of the Burin peninsula in Newfoundland.



Should they have a 200 mile economic and nautical limit as the French wish, or should the Canadians have their way and limit it to 12 miles?

This, the Canadian's allege, would protect the livelihood of 8,000 people employed in the fishing industry on Newfoundland's south shore. Also at stake is the small matter of the Grand Banks - the most prolific fishing grounds in North America and a possible site of oil and gas fields.

M Nallet is relying on the status of Saint Pierre and Miquelon as fully fledged French departments, while Canada, he claims, is attempting to treat them "in the same way that international law treats uninhabited rocks".

The name game

ONE more (and final) contribution to our debate on environmentally-named law firms.

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This major international commercial bank has an opportunity for a qualified banking lawyer with investment banking experience including sales and trading aspects.

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Legal Recruitment

Why not the marrying kind?

In modern society homosexual partnerships are not unusual, but should gay men and women be allowed to marry their partners?

Chris Barton examines the case for change

A local authority places, or attempts to place, a foster child with a gay couple, tennis player Martina Navratilova is sued for divorce-type alimony by Judy Nelson, her former "partner". Considerable disagreements are aroused. Yet the intensity of those debates pales in comparison with the wider issue of whether homosexual — male or female — couples should be allowed to marry. Currently, as the law restricts two-parent adoption to spouses, fostering is the closest a gay couple can come to achieving family status.

The onset of Aids led to a campaign for sexual monogamy among male homosexuals; does it follow that we should emulate Denmark and legislate gay marriage? This would be one of the more unexpected side-effects of Aids. But now that a generation of homosexual men has been free of criminal sanction, perhaps the onus of justification should lie with those who want to perpetuate the civil ban on same-sex marriage.

Extra-marital cohabitation is as open to homosexual couples as it is to heterosexuals. In one sense at least, English law does not deny marriage to homosexuals. The Matrimonial Causes Act 1973, merely gives a "spouse" the right, if the parties to the ceremony were not

male and female respectively, to petition for annulment.

Provided the couple's talent for deception is sufficient to wangle their way past registrar or minister, what is arguably the most important legal consequence of marriage — access to divorce and the financial orders of courts — is already available to gay people. In *Talbot v Talbot* (1971) a woman — a widow, in fact — sought an annulment of her marriage to another woman who had managed, without arousing suspicion, to go through a ceremony purporting to be a bachelor. The couple later fell out.

There are those who see marriage, and divorce, as a means of freeing the state from financial responsibility for the poorer partner, or former partner. Perhaps they might be expected to overcome any unease at making the sacrament, or at least its civil equivalent, available to homosexual couples.

But the real question is whether marriage in the traditional sense of a publicly recognised, continuing union should be made available to homosexual couples. Should they have access to the law's preferred form of domestic partnership, to which fixed rights and duties such as social security, tax and nationality are assigned?

Social anthropology and comparative legal history both claim



the recent Scandinavian initiative as a first, although courts in the United States have recognised privately negotiated contracts between gay couples, in so far as such agreements have allowed for post-separation rights.

Civil weddings have been known to English law since the Marriage Act 1836, and it is clear that sacramental objections alone are hardly sufficient to deny homosexuals the right to a legally significant secular ceremony.

The churches, given their willingness to bless the unions of those beyond the age of child-bearing, can hardly fault marriages merely on the basis that they are not for procreation. Indeed, many

fertile couples intend their relationship to be child-free — a policy much encouraged in certain over-populated countries.

Procreation apart, social parenthood for single or cohabiting homosexuals is already within the law. The Adoption Act 1976 does not preclude sole-applicant adoptions, and it is not possible to say that all those who have been granted parental rights have been heterosexuals.

Parental divorce law does not, *per se*, prohibit the making of "custody" orders in favour of a natural parent — together, perhaps, with his or her new partner — merely on the basis of sexual orientation. It is already open to

the court to hold that the welfare of the child, or children, would be best served by such an arrangement. Lesbians — and, with recent attendant controversy, "virgin" heterosexuals — with or without life partners, have sought artificial insemination.

So far as the rights and wrongs of gay parenting (fostering included) are concerned, the debate must be concerned with what is right for the children. But so far as homosexual adults are concerned the law would better serve society if they were allowed to marry each other, rather than, as now, partners of the opposite sex.

The author is a principal lecturer in law at Staffordshire Polytechnic

Firms conveying a bad impression

The typical costs of conveyancing are now between £500 and £750 according to a nationwide survey of high street law firms carried out earlier this month. However, more than half the law firms contacted were in danger of putting off potential clients simply by the way they handled enquiries about their fees.

At a time of intense competition for conveyancing business many law firms lose business by failing to offer legal services with a human touch. A caller to a Southampton firm was advised to go elsewhere because it was "too busy at the moment what with holidays and so on". A Norwich firm increased its price by 60 per cent — or so it appeared — when the caller commented that its fee seemed "very reasonable".

Tax Cooper, of Ian Cooper Communications, the Leeds consultancy that organised the survey, says: "There are a great many opportunities which arise in the course of a normal telephone conversation for fee earners to differentiate themselves from other firms who are also likely to be contacted by potential clients who are shopping around. If solicitors don't improve their sales and client handling skills then in many cases they won't get the chance to show how good they are as solicitors."

For the survey, more than 100 big high street firms around the country were contacted two weeks ago and asked for a quotation for selling a house at £80,000 and buying at £100,000. The responses were monitored according to 26 criteria, covering the fee quoted, length of time taken to calculate it, how quickly the telephone was answered and whether or not the caller's name was used.

The results were not encouraging. A third of the firms did not

provide any information at first time of asking. Nine out of ten firms missed the chance of getting any comments from enquirers about their fee levels. One firm in Swansea took three-and-a-half minutes to answer the telephone. The conclusion reached by the survey team was that most law firms fail to give a serious impression of wanting to attract clients, and that in many cases callers are being cold shouldered.

Perhaps the most serious consistent deficiency was the lack of any attempt to personalise the response to the calls. In 35 per cent of cases the receptionist did not ask the caller's name, and in only a third of cases did the receptionist give the name of the person to whom the caller was being connected.

The survey showed that other basic marketing leads are still being missed. Lawyers are not pushing "extra services". Less than ten per cent of firms offered to arrange a mortgage, or provide any financial services.

However, the survey was not all bad news. The general speed of response to telephone calls was impressive. Almost 70 per cent of law firms answer callers within five seconds, and most receptionists can now be relied upon to welcome callers with a "good morning" or "good afternoon", and, to say the name of the practice. Callers are also passed on promptly; 60 per cent were holding on for 20 seconds or less. Somebody, it seems, has been training the telephoneists. But now it is the lawyers who need attention.

EDWARD FENNEL

Copies of the survey are available from Ian Cooper Communications, Great Western House, Little Hill, Basingstoke, Hants RG24 0AB. Tel: 01256 591323.

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Major commercial practice seeks a dynamic corporate finance lawyer with between two and four years' ppe in a top City firm. Highly competitive package. Ref: 4923

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or write to Quarry Dougal Recruitment, 9 Brownlow Street, London WC1V 6JD.

QD
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هكذا امت الأصل

Pet love leads to rewarding career

The British are famous as a nation of pet lovers. Old women with cats and young ones with ponies, men with pigeons and many with dogs; the stuff upper lip softens when it comes to animals. But who bandages the injured paws and damaged wings?

Veterinary practices see to the health of farm animals and pets, and most employ one or more veterinary nurses who assist the surgeons. Large practices also run hospitals where animals can be kept overnight. The nurses are indispensable, too, for clinics run by animal charities, such as the People's Dispensary for Sick Animals (PDSA) and Blue Cross.

The Harmsworth Memorial Hospital in Finsbury Park, north London, one of three RSPCA hospitals, employs 20 nurses. "It is a caring profession," Rebecca Hatto, a staff nurse, says. "We are helping animals which cannot help themselves. Although I see thousands of dogs, I have to remember that for each owner there is only one animal and it is his pride and joy."

The hospital has emergency call-outs, most often for animals injured in road accidents, and nurses assist during the operations. But not all the work involves family pets. After an oil spill on the

Veterinary nurses are not well paid but, as Bernardine Coverley discovered, they are a breed apart

River Lea, Ms Hatto helped clean Canada geese and mallard ducks, while on another occasion RSPCA nurses were called in when a virus struck thousands of seals.

The training for veterinary nursing is based on treating domestic animals, such as dogs and cats, although some knowledge of the physiology and common ailments of cage birds, tortoises and small mammals, such as guinea pigs and rabbits, is covered. In order to study for the preliminary and final exams, prospective nurses must find employment at a training centre approved by the British Veterinary Nursing Association.

Trainees take examinations after a period of practical training. Many vets will provide the theoretical instruction, too, lecturing and supervising study.

Many students attend college on a day release basis, or undertake a short block course. As the syllabus

is set by the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons, all courses offer the same content and are taken over a minimum of two years.

Finding work can take time, as Julia Thomas discovered after writing to numerous practices on the approved training centre list. "I had to wait six months before I received an interview," she says.

Ms Thomas spent four years in private practice while studying for her preliminary exam at college on day release. She then worked for the RSPCA, where she took the final exam, and now heads a team of six nurses at the PDSA in Lewisham, southeast London.

Nursing duties at the dispensary vary from basic tasks, such as cleaning the kennels where the animals are kept while recovering from operations, to skilled tasks such as taking x-rays and testing for viruses. Nurses also assist at operations, help during consultations, prepare medicines, record treatment and advise owners on home care.

Ms Thomas says: "Naturally most animals do not want to be treated, so you have to be reassured. As the PDSA clinics are for those who can't afford private treatment, we have a lot of old age pensioners whose pets are especially important to them."

Several organisations run re-



Canine companion: Judith Lawson, a veterinary nurse, who confesses to a childhood love of guinea pigs, tends to one of her patients

freshers courses, where nurses learn to use the latest equipment, or to deal with exotic animals, while the Diploma in Advanced Veterinary Nursing (Surgical) gives further training for experienced nurses.

The hours are often unsociable, and nurses regularly work night shifts to tend to the animals. Trainee wages are low, and even the top salary for a head nurse is about £12,000 a year. Although some leave the profession to work for drug companies as sales representatives, there is not a wide

choice so far as career structure goes.

What, then is the appeal? Ms Thomas explains: "I love working with animals, and I certainly do not want to move on if it means losing contact with people and their pets."

Judith Lawson is a typical nurse: she confesses to a childhood love of guinea pigs, then a teenage devotion to dogs while working for a breeding kennels. Eventually, she decided to become a veterinary nurse and trained at a big

practice in Canterbury. She wanted to obtain a biology GCSE - nursing course requirements are four GCSEs A, B or C, one in English and one in science or mathematics - and attended evening classes.

She then started formal training, including on-site work. After final exams, she widened her experience by taking up locum work for nine months in East Anglia, before returning to Canterbury when a qualified post became vacant. "Many people think we are just

receptionists and do not realise the amount of work and study we do," Ms Lawson says. "But professionally we are beginning to be better recognised and paid."

Further details: a booklet, *Guide to the Scheme*, includes a list of approved training centres and courses (Ed. from the British Veterinary Nursing Association, the Sordbed Centre, Coldharbour Road, Harlow, Essex CM19 3AF). Jones's *Animal Nursing* is edited by D.R. Lane and published by the British Small Animal Veterinary Association.

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Further details available from the Personnel Department, P.H.L.S., 61 Colindale Avenue, London NW9 5DF. Telephone No. 081 200 1295 ext 3690. Closing Date: 6th September, 1991.

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Gallacher, the European captain, is delighted that a lean spell has ended for Spanish player

Olazábal assured of a Ryder Cup place

By MITCHELL PLATTIS
GOLF CORRESPONDENT

JOSÉ-Maria Olazábal chose an appropriate time to re-discover his touch when he won The International at Castle Pines, Colorado, on Sunday. The Spaniard's success assures him of a place in the European team for the Ryder Cup match against the United States at Kiawah Island from September 27 to 29.

Bernard Gallacher, the European captain, will select Olazábal even if he is not among the leading nine players who automatically qualify from the Johnnie Walker points list at the end of the German Open in Düsseldorf next Sunday.

Gallacher stressed that he was keeping an open mind on the two he will select in addition to Nick Faldo, although he could not camouflage his delight on learning that Olazábal had brought to an abrupt end a spell during which his confidence diminished.

"It's always good when one of our players wins in America but José-Maria has obviously

come back to form at the right time," Gallacher said.

A relieved Olazábal, without a win since the Catalan Open in March, expressed his delight. He had spoken of no longer being in control of his game, although he put that behind him with a convincing triumph in Colorado, where Ian Baker-Finch, the Open champion, was runner-up.

"To win in the States - no matter what the tournament - feels great," Olazábal said.

Olazábal has fallen to ninth place because David Gifford leapfrogged nine players, including the Spaniard, by winning the £75,000 first prize in the NM English Open at

The Belfry to take his earnings to £177,883. Olazábal, runner-up in the Masters and second in the Sony world rankings, has £174,533.

Olazábal is defending the World Series of Golf at Akron, Ohio, this week so he is not playing in the German Open, which makes it likely that he will drop out of the top nine.

There are 12 players who could overtake Olazábal. Sam Torrance (£164,188) is the favourite as he is £10,345 behind and requires only a top ten finish. Per-Ulrik Johansson, Paul Broadhurst, Anders Forsbrand and Michael McLean head the other challengers. José Rivero, Miguel

Martin, Constantino Rocca, Peter Mitchell, Mats Lanner, Gordon Brand Jr and Mark James must win the first prize of £87,500 to dislodge Olazábal.

Even then the situation is far from clear, with the possibility of Eamonn Darcy (£182,145), who has withdrawn, as has David Feherty, losing his automatic place even though he is seventh.

"What happened at The Belfry could happen again this week so I might need a little time to work things out on Sunday night," Gallacher said. "That takes nothing away from David Gifford because I was impressed by the way he played down the finishing stretch."

"In fact I played with him early in his professional career in the Jersey Open and I was so impressed I told the International Management Group that they should take a look at him as a future winner."

Gifford, who turned professional after the Walker Cup in 1985, is one of only four players in the top ten of the Volvo order of merit who will play in Germany.



Trophy chaser: Olazábal wins at Castle Pines and looks forward to Kiawah Island

HOCKEY

Scotland call up talented juniors

DEREK Camliffe, aged 18, of Havant, is one of three members of the Scottish under-21 side promoted to the senior squad for the international with Falkland at Hibernia Park in Glasgow on Saturday (a Special Correspondent writes).

Joining Camliffe in the senior ranks are Paul Doney and Colin Hector. All three were instrumental in helping Scotland qualify for the finals of the European junior championships at Vejle, in Denmark, earlier this month when they finished runner-up to Spain. Czechoslovakia also qualified.

SCOTLAND: A. Stewart (Glasgow Rangers), S. Campbell (Glasgow Rangers), B. Gault (Glasgow Rangers), J. Doney (Glasgow Rangers), C. Hector (Glasgow Rangers), C. Watt (Glasgow Rangers), D. Camliffe (Havant), R. Thib (Glasgow Rangers).

□ Martyn Grimley, a member of the Great Britain Olympic gold medal-winning team in 1988, has rejoined Hounslow after transferring last season to Neston. He had played for Hounslow in the two previous seasons and for England at the European championships.

European Law Report

Domicile irrelevant to Convention

Overseas Union Insurance Ltd and Others v New Hampshire Insurance Company Case C-351/89

Before G. F. Mancini, President of the Sixth Chamber and Judges T. F. O'Higgins, C. N. Kakouris, F. A. Schockweiler, and P. J. G. Kapteyn Advocate General W. Van Gerven (Opinion March 7)

In order to prevent parallel proceedings before the courts of different countries, article 21 of the Brussels Convention was interpreted broadly so as to cover, in principle, all situations of its pendency before courts in contracting states, irrespective of the parties' domicile.

The Court of Justice of the European Communities so held in replying to questions submitted to it by the Court of Appeal, London, for a preliminary ruling pursuant to the Protocol of June 3, 1971 on the interpretation by the Court of Justice of the Convention of September 27, 1968 on jurisdiction and the enforcement of judgments in civil and commercial matters (the Brussels Convention).

New Hampshire Insurance Company was incorporated in the state of New Hampshire, USA, and was registered in England as an overseas company, pursuant to the Companies Act 1985, and in France as a foreign company, since it had several offices in that country.

In 1980 New Hampshire re-insured a proportion of its risk under an insurance policy covering certain costs relating to the repair or replacement of electrical appliances in accordance with a five-year warranty scheme. With the applicants in the main proceedings.

After raising a number of queries with New Hampshire concerning the management of the insurance account, the applicants first ceased all payment of claims and then purported to avoid their respective insurance commitments on the grounds of non-disclosure, misrepresentation and breach of duty in both the pricing and operation of the reinsurance policies.

In June 1987 and February 1988 New Hampshire issued proceedings against the applicants in the Tribunal de

Commerce (Commercial Court), Paris, claiming moneys due under the reinsurance policies. The applicants in the present proceedings challenged the jurisdiction of that court.

On April 6, 1988 the applicants brought the present proceedings against New Hampshire in the Commercial Court of the Queen's Bench Division of the High Court in which they sought a declaration that they had lawfully avoided their obligations under the reinsurance policies.

In September 9, 1988 the Commercial Court granted a stay of the proceedings pursuant to the second paragraph of article 21 of the Convention until such time as the French court gave a decision on the question of its jurisdiction in the proceedings pending before it.

The applicants appealed that order to the Court of Appeal which took the view that the dispute raised a question concerning the interpretation of the Brussels Convention. It therefore stayed its proceedings and submitted four questions to the Court of Justice for a preliminary ruling.

In its order the Court of Appeal made it clear that it was common ground between the parties that the French court was in each case first seized and that the proceedings before the courts of the two contracting parties in the state in which the same cause of action between the same parties within the meaning of article 21 of the Convention.

In its judgment the Court of Justice of the European Communities ruled as follows: Domicile of the parties By its first question the national court essentially sought to establish whether article 21 of the Convention applied, irrespective of the domicile of the parties to the two sets of proceedings.

The wording of article 21, unlike the wording of other provisions of the Convention, made no reference to the domicile of the parties to the proceedings. Moreover, article 21 did not draw any distinction between the various heads of jurisdiction provided for in the Convention.

In particular, it did not provide for any derogation to cover a case where, in accordance with the provisions of article 4 of the Convention, a court of a

contracting state exercised its jurisdiction by virtue of the law of that state over a defendant who was not domiciled in a contracting state.

Consequently, it appeared from the wording of article 21 that it was to be applied both where the jurisdiction of the court was determined by the Convention itself and where it was derived from the legislation of a contracting state in accordance with article 4 of the Convention. That interpretation was borne out by an examination of the aims of the Convention.

With regard in particular to article 21, that provision, together with article 22 on related actions, was contained in section 8 of the Convention, which was intended, in the interests of the proper administration of justice within the Community, to prevent parallel proceedings before the courts of different contracting states and to avoid conflicts between decisions which might result therefrom.

Those rules were therefore designed to preclude, in so far as possible and from the outset, the possibility of a situation arising such as that referred to in article 27(3), that is to say, the non-recognition of a judgment on account of its irreconcilability with a judgment given in proceedings between the same parties in the state in which recognition was sought.

It followed that, in order to achieve those aims, article 21 was to be interpreted broadly so as to cover, in principle, all situations of its pendency before courts in contracting states, irrespective of the parties' domicile.

By its second and third questions, the national court essentially sought to establish whether article 21 of the Convention was to be interpreted as meaning that, if it did not decline jurisdiction, the court second seized might only stay its proceedings, or whether article 21 permitted or required it to examine whether the court first seized had jurisdiction and, if so, to what extent.

In the case of a dispute over which the court second seized had exclusive jurisdiction, the only exception to the obligation imposed by article 21 of the Convention on that court to

decline jurisdiction was where it stayed proceedings, an option which it might exercise only if the jurisdiction of the court first seized was contested.

In no case was the court second seized in a better position than the court first seized to determine whether the latter had jurisdiction.

Either the jurisdiction of the court first seized was determined directly by the rules of the Convention, which were common to both courts and might be interpreted and applied with the same authority by each of them, or it was derived, by virtue of article 4 of the Convention, from the law of the state of the court first seized, in which case that court was undeniably better placed to rule on the question of its own jurisdiction.

Moreover, the cases in which a court in a contracting state might review the jurisdiction of a court in another contracting state were set out exhaustively in article 28 and the second paragraph of article 34 of the Convention.

Those cases were limited to the stage of recognition or enforcement and related only to certain rules of special or exclusive jurisdiction having a mandatory or public-policy nature. It followed that, apart from those limited exceptions, the Convention did not authorise the jurisdiction of a court to be reviewed by a court in another contracting state.

In view of the answers given to the first three questions, the fourth question was redundant.

On those grounds, the European Court (Sixth Chamber) ruled:

1 Article 21 of the Brussels Convention was to be interpreted as meaning that, irrespective of the domicile of the parties to the two sets of proceedings, 2 Without prejudice to the case where the court second seized had exclusive jurisdiction under the Convention and in particular under article 16 thereof, article 21 of the Convention was to be interpreted as meaning that, where the jurisdiction of the court first seized was contested, the court second seized might, if it did not decline jurisdiction, only stay the proceedings and might not itself examine the jurisdiction of the court first seized.

Al-Jubail Fertilizer Company (SAMAD) and Another v Council of the European Communities, supported by Commission of the European Communities, Intervener Case C-49/88

Before G. F. Mancini, President of the Sixth Chamber and Judges T. F. O'Higgins, M. Diez de Velasco, C. N. Kakouris and F. A. Schockweiler Advocate General M. Darmon (Opinion February 7)

The requirements stemming from the fundamental right to a fair hearing were to be observed in investigative proceedings prior to the adoption of anti-dumping regulations which might directly and individually affect the undertakings concerned and entail adverse consequences for them.

The Court of Justice of the European Communities so held in annulling article 1 of Council Regulation (EEC) No 339/87 of November 4, 1987 imposing a definitive anti-dumping duty on imports of urea originating in Libya and Saudi Arabia (OJ 1987 No L317 p1).

The Al-Jubail Fertilizer Company (SAMAD) and the Saudi Arabian Fertilizer Company (SAFCO) manufactured urea in Saudi Arabia. In addition to its own production activities, SAFCO acted as agents for SAMAD with regard to the sale of the latter company's products in Saudi Arabia and a number of other countries, including those of the EEC.

Following a complaint made to it by the CMC-Engrais (Common Market Committee of the Nitrogen and Phosphate Fertilizer Industry) on behalf of producers in Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Kuwait, Libya, Saudi Arabia, the USSR, Trinidad and Tobago and Yugoslavia (OJ 1986 No C254 p3).

That anti-dumping proceeding led first of all to the imposition by Commission Regulation (EEC) No 1289/87 of May 8, 1987 (OJ 1987 No L121 p1) of a provisional anti-

dumping duty on imports of urea originating in particular in Saudi Arabia, equal to the amount by which the price per tonne net, free at the Community frontier, before duty, was less than 153 ECU.

By article 1 of Regulation No 339/87 the Council imposed a definitive anti-dumping duty on imports of urea originating in Libya and Saudi Arabia which was fixed at 40 per cent *ad valorem*.

By their application, the applicants sought a declaration that article 1 of Council Regulation 339/87 was void in so far as it applied to them.

In support of their application, the applicants relied on four submissions based respectively on an inadequate statement of reasons, manifest errors of appraisal, errors of law resulting in distortion of the facts and denial of the applicant's right to a fair hearing.

In its judgment the Court of Justice of the European Communities held as follows:

The first submission might be dealt with first. In support of that submission, the applicants claimed that they were not informed in advance of the reasons why the Council had formed the view that their request for an allowance to take account of the differences in levels of trade and in quantities sold in Saudi Arabia and the Community could not be accepted.

They also claimed they were not warned in advance of the change in the type of anti-dumping duty imposed, that they received no answer to the questions which they had raised regarding the determination of injury threshold and that the information made available to the Commission in respect of warehousing was insufficient.

Article 7(4)(a) and (b) of Council Regulation (EEC) No 2176/84 of July 23, 1984 on protection against dumped or subsidised imports from certain non-members of the European Economic Community (OJ 1984 No L201 p1), "the basic regulation," provided that complainants might inspect all information made available to the Commission, provided that it was relevant to the defence of their interests and that it was used by the Commission in the investiga-

tion, and that exporters and importers of the products subject to investigation might request to be informed of the essential facts and considerations on the basis of which it was intended to recommend the imposition of definitive duties.

Furthermore, according to the well established case law of the Court, fundamental rights formed part of the general principles of law, whose observance was ensured by the Court. Consequently, it was necessary when interpreting article 7(4) of the basic regulation to take account in particular of the requirements stemming from the right to a fair hearing, a principle whose fundamental character has been stressed on numerous occasions in the case law of the Court.

Those requirements were to be observed not only in the course of proceedings which might result in the imposition of penalties but also in investigative proceedings prior to the adoption of anti-dumping regulations which, despite their general scope, might directly and individually affect the undertakings concerned and entail adverse consequences for them.

It had to be added that, with regard to the right to a fair hearing, any action taken by the Community institutions had to be all the more scrupulous in view of the fact that, as they stood at present, the rules in question did not provide all the procedural guarantees for the protection of the individual which might exist in certain national legal systems.

Consequently, in performing their duty to provide information, the Community institutions had to act with all due diligence by seeking to provide the undertakings concerned, as far as was compatible with the obligation not to disclose business secrets, with information relevant to the defence of their interests, including, if necessary on their own initiative, the appropriate means of providing such information.

In any event, the undertakings concerned should have been placed in a position during the administrative procedure in which they could effectively make known their views on the correctness and relevance of the facts and circumstances alleged

and on the evidence presented by the Commission in support of its allegation concerning the existence of dumping and the resultant injury.

There was nothing in the documents before the Court to show that the Community institutions had discharged their duty to place at the applicant's disposal all the information which would have enabled them effectively to defend their interests.

Although the information requested might, under article 7(4)(b) of the basic regulation, be supplied in a purely oral manner, that possibility could not release the Community authorities from their obligation to ensure that they had evidence enabling them, if necessary, to prove that the applicant was actually concerned.

Since the Council had failed to adduce any evidence in support of its contentions, it had to be concluded that the applicant's first two arguments were well-founded. The same held true with regard to the arguments based on the irregularities committed by the Commission in determining the injury threshold and calculating the allowance for warehousing.

The defendant constantly referred in that regard to a letter of September 8, 1988 which the applicants claim never to have received. For the reasons already outlined, that letter, which was not sent by registered post and the reception of which by the addressee could not be established with absolute certainty, could not be regarded as a diligent method of discharging the obligation to provide information laid down in the basic regulation. In any event, these two complaints must also be upheld.

It followed that the submission based on the infringement of a right to a fair hearing was to be accepted. On those grounds the European Court (Sixth Chamber): 1 Declared article 1 of Council Regulation No 2279/87 of November 4, 1987 imposing a definitive anti-dumping duty on imports of urea originating in Libya and Saudi Arabia void in so far as it imposed a definitive anti-dumping duty on the applicants; 2 Ordered the defendant to pay the costs.

Human Rights Law Report

Right of the press to criticise politicians fundamental to democracy

erschick v Austria Case No 61/90/197/257

Before R. Ryssdal, President and Judges J. Cremenova, Thor Vilhjalmsson, D. Bindschedler-Robert, F. Golczuk, F. Matscher, E. Pettit, E. Walsh, Sir Vincent Evans, R. Macdonald, C. Russo, R. Bernhardt, A. Spielmann, J. de Meyer, S. K. Martens, E. Palm, I. Fojthel, A. N. Loizou and J. M. Morilleu Registrar M.-A. Eissen (Judgment May 23)

The conviction of a journalist for defamation of a politician constituted a violation of the journalist's right to freedom of expression as guaranteed in article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights. The European Court of Human Rights so held, stating further, that there had been a violation of article 6(1) of the Convention as regards the impartiality of the Vienna Court of Appeal, but not as regards the fairness of the trial before the first instance court.

Article 10 provides: "1. Everyone has the right to freedom of expression. This right shall include freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers. This article shall not prevent states from requiring the licensing of broadcasting, television or cinema enterprises."

"2. The exercise of these freedoms, since it carries with it duties and responsibilities, may be subject to such formalities, conditions, restrictions or penalties as are prescribed by law and are necessary in a democratic society, in the interests of national security, territorial integrity or public safety, for the protection of the reputation or rights of others, for preventing the disclosure of information received in confidence, or for maintaining the authority and impartiality of the judiciary."

Article 6 provides: "1. In the determination of ... any criminal charge against him, everyone is entitled to a fair ... hearing by an ... independent and impartial tribunal established by law."

On March 29, 1983, during a parliamentary election campaign, it was reported in a television programme that Mr W. Grabner-Meyer, then secretary general of one of the political parties which participated in the election campaign, the Austrian Liberal Party, had suggested that family allowances for Austrian women should be increased by 50 per cent in order to obviate their seeking abortions for financial reasons, while those paid to immigrant mothers should be reduced to 50 per cent of their current levels. He had justified this statement by saying that immigrant families were placed in a discriminatory position in other European countries as well.

On April 20, 1983 Mr G. Oberschick and several other persons laid a criminal information (*Strafanzeige*) against Mr Grabner-Meyer. The full text of the information, which referred notably to the crimes of incitement to hatred and of activities contrary to the interests of the Austrian Republic, was published by the applicant on the same day in the periodical *Forum* for which he worked as a journalist.

The politician thereupon instituted a private prosecution for defamation. The proceedings were discontinued by the review chamber of the Vienna Regional Criminal Court but, on appeal by the politician, the Vienna Court of Appeal annulled the decision on May 31, 1983 and referred the case back to the regional court.

On May 11, 1984 the regional court convicted and fined the applicant. It also ordered the seizure of the relevant issue of *Forum* and the publication of its judgment in this review.

An appeal by the applicant was dismissed on December 17, 1984 by the Vienna Court of Appeal, composed of the same judges who had dealt with the case on the previous occasion. The Court of Appeal found that the applicant had insulted, without a sufficient basis in the facts, that the politician held National Socialist attitudes.

The European Commission of Human Rights declared the application admissible on May 10, 1989. In its report of December 14, 1989, the Commission expressed the opinion that there had been a violation of article 10 (19 votes to two) and article 6(1) in relation to the proceedings before the Court of Appeal (20 votes to one), but not in relation to the proceedings before the regional court (unanimously).

In its judgment, the European Court of Human Rights held as follows: I Alleged violation of article 6(1) A Proceedings before the Vienna regional court As regards the regional court's refusal to rectify the trial record, the Commission had concluded in its report that there had been no violation on that account. The applicant had not pursued that issue before the Court and it therefore saw no reason to examine it.

The regional court's finding that it was bound by the Court of Appeal's decision of May 31, 1983, although contrary to domestic law, did not of itself constitute a violation of article 6(1), since the regional court had in fact considered the evidence before it and reached the fully reasoned conclusion, which was upheld on appeal, that the applicant was guilty.

B Proceedings before the Vienna Court of Appeal The applicant alleged that, when hearing his appeal on December 17, 1984, the Court of Appeal was not impartial and not established by law because, contrary to Austrian law, it had sat in the same composition as it

had on May 31, 1983. The Court found that those complaints coincided in substance. The relevant domestic provision manifested the legislature's concern to remove all doubts as to impartiality, so that failure to abide by it meant that the applicant's appeal had been heard by a tribunal whose impartiality was recognised by national law to be open to doubt.

Furthermore, it had not been established that the applicant had waived his right to an impartial tribunal, since neither he nor his counsel were aware at the time that all three appeal judges had participated in both decisions.

The Court concluded, unanimously, that there had accordingly been a violation of article 6(1) in that respect.

II Alleged violation of article 10 A Issues to be decided It was not contested that the applicant's conviction constituted an interference with his right to freedom of expression, which was prescribed by law, namely article 111 of the Austrian Criminal Code, and had the legitimate aim of protecting the reputation or rights of others. Argument before the Court concentrated on the question whether the interference was necessary in a democratic society to achieve that aim.

B General principles The Court recalled that freedom of expression constituted one of the essential foundations of a democratic society and one

of the basic conditions for its progress and for each individual's self-fulfilment. Subject to paragraph 2, it was applicable not only to information or ideas that were favourably received or regarded as inoffensive or as a matter of indifference, but also to those that offended, shocked or disturbed. Such were the demands of pluralism, tolerance and broadmindedness without which there was no democratic society; *inter alia*, the *Handyside* judgment of December 7, 1976 (Series A No 24 p23 paragraph 49) and the *Lingens* judgment of July 8, 1986 (Series A No 103 p26 paragraph 41).

Article 10 protected not only the substance of the ideas and information expressed, but also the form in which they were conveyed. Those principles were of particular importance with regard to the Press.

While it must not overstep the bounds set, *inter alia*, for the protection of the reputation of others, its task was nevertheless to impart information and ideas on political issues and on other matters of general interest; see, *mutatis mutandis*, the *Sunday Times* judgment of April 26, 1979 (Series A No 30, p40, paragraph 65), and the above-mentioned *Lingens* judgment.

Freedom of the Press afforded the public one of the best means of discovering and forming an opinion of the ideas and attitudes of political leaders. That was underlined by the wording

of article 10 where the public's right to receive information and ideas was expressly mentioned. More generally, freedom of political debate was at the very core of the concept of a democratic society which prevailed throughout the Convention.

The limits of acceptable criticism were accordingly wide in relation to a politician acting in his public capacity than in relation to a private individual. The former inevitably and knowingly laid himself open to close scrutiny of his every word and deed by both journalists and the public at large, and he had to display a greater degree of tolerance, especially when he himself made public statements that were susceptible of criticism.

What was at stake in this case were the limits of acceptable criticism in the context of public debate on a political question of general interest.

C Application of those principles The Court noted that the applicant had been convicted for having published in a review the text of a criminal information which he and other persons had lodged against a politician. They had expressed the opinion therein that the latter had made a proposal which corresponded to the philosophy and the aims of National Socialism.

That publication contributed, in the Court's view, to a public debate on a political question of general importance, namely the different treatment of nationals and foreigners in the social field. The applicant was seeking to draw the public's attention to a provocative manner to a proposal which was likely to shock many people.

The Court found, after examining the impugned court decisions, that the applicant had been convicted because he had not been able to prove the truth of his allegations.

In the Court's view, the publication in question consisted of a true statement of facts (the politician's proposal) followed by the opinion of the authors, concerning that proposal. That opinion constituted a value judgment, in respect of which the requirement of proving its truth was impossible of fulfilment and infringed freedom of opinion.

Furthermore, having regard to the importance of the issue at stake, the applicant could not be said to have exceeded the limits of freedom of expression by choosing the particular form of publication.

The Court concluded, Judges Thor Vilhjalmsson, Matscher and Bindschedler-Robert dissenting, that there had been a breach of article 10.

III Application of article 50 The Court awarded the applicant specified sums for pecuniary damage and for his costs and expenses in Austria and before the Convention institutions, and rejected the remainder of his claims for just satisfaction.

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Talented Stagecraft to exact revenge in York showpiece

STAGECRAFT is napped to avenge his Coral-Eclipse Stakes defeat and gain his first group one success in the Juddmonte International Stakes at York today.

Michael Stoute's four-year-old was having only the seventh race of his career when stepping up to the highest grade for the first time at Sandown last month and his lack of top-flight experience may well have contributed to his narrow defeat.

Left in front much earlier than anticipated two furlongs out, Stagecraft was still ahead at the furlong pole but faltered momentarily, thus handing the initiative to Environment Friend. Although Stagecraft was running on again at the death, the post came just in time for his unfancied rival, who held on by a head.

Prior to the Eclipse, Stagecraft had looked a performer of the highest class when landing the group three Brigadier Gerard Stakes at Sandown in May and the group two Prince of Wales's Stakes at Royal Ascot in June.

The hallmark of those successes was his ability to quicken in a matter of strides and Steve Carthen seems sure to hold Stagecraft up a little longer this time to make maximum use of that rare asset.

Environment Friend showed his liking for the Knavesmire when winning the William Hill Dante Stakes at the May meeting and his subsequent Derby flop remains a mystery.

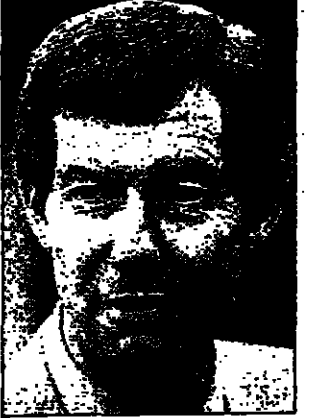
While there can be little doubting the merit of his Eclipse victory with horses of the calibre of Sangamere and In The Groove seven lengths

or more in arrears, he may fall prey to Stagecraft's more explosive acceleration on this occasion.

Quest For Fame ran a satisfactory race behind In The Groove in the Coronation Cup at Epsom in June and is reportedly fully recovered from the sore shins which have kept him on the sidelines since. However, last year's Derby winner seems unlikely to be suited by this drop in distance and may be tapped for too by these specialist ten-furlong performers.

Of the other trio, Terimon has had plenty of chances at this level while Topanora and Mikado have been running creditably in lesser pattern events without suggesting they are equal to a task such as today's.

Carthen and Stoute can start the meeting on a high note by taking the Deploy Acomb Stakes with Nodini.



Brittain's sprint brave with Nodini

who shaped so promisingly behind the well-regarded pair, Sun And Shade and Mahasin, at Ascot last month.

Stoute also saddles the probable favourite for the Great Voltigeur Stakes in Saddlers' Hall, who may have been taking on too much too soon when sixth in the King George VI and Queen Elizabeth Diamond Stakes but has previously been an impressive winner of a sub-standard King Edward VII Stakes at Royal Ascot.

Preference here, though, is for the progressive Terimon, who took the King George V Handicap in equally significant style at the royal meeting and followed up in listed company at Haydock.

Beesley can extend his winning run to five by beating Michael in the Racedale Melrose Handicap where victory would be a pointer to the chance of her nearest Goodwood pursuer, Supreme Choice, in the Lonsdale Stakes.

The Eagle Lane Handicap looks a typically trappy sprint but Nordic Brave appeals as a lively outsider. Mel Britain's five-year-old has slipped handsily down the weights since winning at Ripon in June and five days earlier had shown his liking for this course when a head second to the rejuvenated Gentle Hero.

With most of the top jockeys riding at York, Ray Cochrane can land a treble at Folkestone through Navarrese (2.50), Long Knives (3.20) and Spring Tern (4.25).

Blinkered first time
YORK: 4.15 PAIN, 5.15 GENTLE FLY, 5.45 NODINI, 6.15 DEPLOY ACOMB, 6.45 STAGECRAFT, 7.15 NODINI, 7.45 NODINI, 8.15 NODINI, 8.45 NODINI, 9.15 NODINI, 9.45 NODINI, 10.15 NODINI, 10.45 NODINI, 11.15 NODINI, 11.45 NODINI, 12.15 NODINI, 12.45 NODINI, 1.15 NODINI, 1.45 NODINI, 2.15 NODINI, 2.45 NODINI, 3.15 NODINI, 3.45 NODINI, 4.15 NODINI, 4.45 NODINI, 5.15 NODINI, 5.45 NODINI, 6.15 NODINI, 6.45 NODINI, 7.15 NODINI, 7.45 NODINI, 8.15 NODINI, 8.45 NODINI, 9.15 NODINI, 9.45 NODINI, 10.15 NODINI, 10.45 NODINI, 11.15 NODINI, 11.45 NODINI, 12.15 NODINI, 12.45 NODINI, 1.15 NODINI, 1.45 NODINI, 2.15 NODINI, 2.45 NODINI, 3.15 NODINI, 3.45 NODINI, 4.15 NODINI, 4.45 NODINI, 5.15 NODINI, 5.45 NODINI, 6.15 NODINI, 6.45 NODINI, 7.15 NODINI, 7.45 NODINI, 8.15 NODINI, 8.45 NODINI, 9.15 NODINI, 9.45 NODINI, 10.15 NODINI, 10.45 NODINI, 11.15 NODINI, 11.45 NODINI, 12.15 NODINI, 12.45 NODINI, 1.15 NODINI, 1.45 NODINI, 2.15 NODINI, 2.45 NODINI, 3.15 NODINI, 3.45 NODINI, 4.15 NODINI, 4.45 NODINI, 5.15 NODINI, 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Sri Lankans benefit from pre-Test batting practice

Centuries by Smith and Greenfield set up good finish

By JOHN WOODCOCK

HOVE (final day of three): Sussex drew with the Sri Lankans

SPURRED on by the prospect of winning £2,000, the prize offered by the sponsors, for winning this match, the Sri Lankans and Sussex contested a good finish at Hove yesterday. Left to make 275 to win in 54 overs, the Sri Lankans were 255 for eight when stumps were drawn, having shut up shop only a couple of overs earlier.

They had shown themselves, as they so often do when given a little encouragement and congenial conditions, to be batsmen of flair. Kuruppu, Mahanama and Tilakaratne all played most engagingly, and the odds seemed in favour of a Sri Lankan victory when only 26 more were needed with five wickets standing, 26 balls left and Tilakaratne, yet another of their left-handers, in sparkling form. Twenty minutes later the touring team was grateful to see Tilakaratne dropped at silly mid-off by Pigott, and Muralihaman, the last man, spared from coming in to face the last two balls.

Sussex had made heavy weather of extending their

lead from an overnight 103 to a point where Alan Wells felt able to declare. Greenfield and Smith decided the chance of their making hundreds was too good to miss, Smith particularly providing limited entertainment. Of the first 105 runs they added together, Greenfield scored 70, showing himself capable of powerful, well-made strokes. This was, in fact, Greenfield's third hundred in the ten first-class innings he has played this season and fast the other two were for Sussex against Cambridge. Inevitably, he is finding the championship a different proposition.

We were treated to an assortment of spin bowling, all of the orthodox kind, by Anurasi, Muralihaman and Jayasuriya. They got nothing much past the bat, nor gave anything much away, and as the morning went by it became evident that Sussex were not looking for a lunchtime declaration, as they might have been expected to do. In the event they continued until Smith reached his second hundred of the season, 35 minutes into the afternoon. He received 208 balls, 11 more than Greenfield.

The Sri Lankans were given

a lively start by Kuruppu. He brought the game to life with some splendid strokes, in keeping with the pitch, which looked as though it would last for ever, and the occasion, which was pleasantly relaxed. At tea, after 18 overs, the Sri Lankans were 71 for no wicket.

Twenty-five minutes afterwards they were 110 for four, North having removed Hathurusinghe, Kuruppu, Gurusinha and Atapattu in 18 balls for seven runs. There was not quite the need for such desperation as the batsmen showed; but that is so much a matter of experience. Then Mahanama and Tilakaratne came and with great spirit added 119 in 20 overs. So in the Test, Sri Lanka will not be short of batsmen with some runs under their belt.

Wells kept Salisbury going at one end and gave Greenfield's off break an airing at the other. When the last 20 overs began the Sri Lankans needed a 131, and when Pigott and Jones were brought back, still with six wickets standing, the required rate hovered around six an over. Which is where it stayed until, at the fall of the eighth wicket, the chase was abandoned.

Effort by Broad is in vain

By IVO TENNANT

TRENT BRIDGE (final day of three): Nottinghamshire (5pts) drew with Somerset

IN THE aftermath of their victory on Sunday, Nottinghamshire must have reckoned that all things were possible, especially scoring runs against the clock. This time, though, they fell short, if by only five runs of the 322 they were asked to make by Somerset. For all the efforts of Chris Broad, who made an excellent century, and Derek Randall, a zany unbeaten 73, they can hardly win the championship now.

Broad has achieved the remarkable distinction of scoring a century against every first-class county, including his own. That, of course, was when he was with Gloucestershire. Nobody still playing county cricket has matched this.

He was not to be unaware of what he needed yesterday — in fact he was the source of information to the announcer. Yet this was far from a selfish innings and it deserved more.

Having given themselves every chance of winning by opening Somerset and in particular Hayhurst some uncounted runs, Nottinghamshire went for victory from the start. Broad and Pollard began with 54 off 13 overs and there were further quick runs from Robinson. This against an attack which included three spinners, all of them prepared to fight the ball. Doubtless Tavaré took this into his deliberations, for there were not the minimum of 58 overs bowled, but 67 in all.

Had Broad been stumped on 60 off 50, as he should have been, Somerset might well have won. They did well to rid themselves of Nottinghamshire's fiercest strikers of a ball, Johnson and Stephenson, although in both cases the attempted runs were ill-judged. When 120 were needed off the last 20 overs, Broad was still there.

He was eventually caught on the extra-cover boundary, having struck 12 fours in his fifth century of the season. Randall, though he hit only two fours, kept Nottinghamshire in the match, but 67 off the last 10 overs and finally 12 from Hallett's last over, was just beyond them.

Shine completes famous recovery

By ALAN LEE, CRICKET CORRESPONDENT

BOURNEMOUTH (final day of three): Hampshire (21pts) beat Leicestershire (6) by two wickets

RESULTS are hard enough to come by when three-day games are played on pitches as discouragingly slow as this one. When the inevitable run-chase is conducted between batsmen and bowlers with little form or confidence behind them, the outcome normally needs little guesswork. Here was a thrilling exception.

Set to score 283 from 66 overs, Hampshire made it with a ball to spare, courtesy of two consecutive drives for four by Shine, their No. 10, off Lewis, the England all-rounder. It was rough justice on Leicestershire, who had made all the running.

Hampshire's hopes had apparently gone with the fall, in quick succession, of Terry and Robin Smith as, with the abrupt departure of the elder Smith, Christopher, they do not possess a batsman with 1,000 first-class runs for the county this season.

The Leicestershire attack is limited, as their position proping up the table betrays, but moved him leg-before and then bowled Nicholas off a thick inside edge. Hampshire had needed 117 from the last 20, which seemed plausible; 81 off ten, with the last two recognised batsmen together, did not.

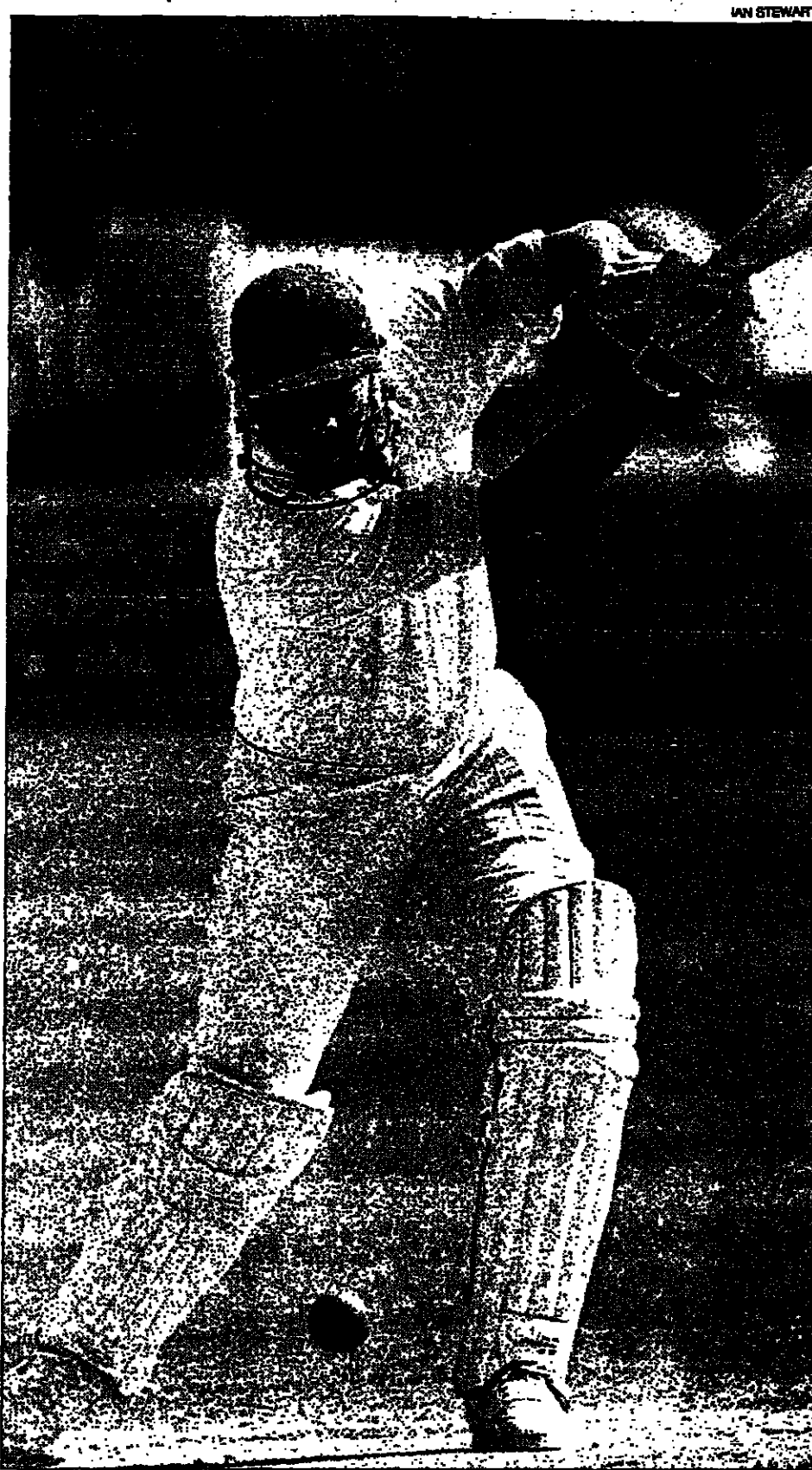
was climaxed by two spectacular clean hits for six, over mid-wicket, in the penultimate over.

James was caught, attempting a third, and Hepworth pulled off two run-outs in a frenzied last over before Shine, no respecter of reputations, marched in to the final stages. It was Leicestershire's Hampshire, whose thoughts are focused on the NatWest Trophy final next month, this was another welcome bonus.

Tickets for the final went on sale yesterday, producing long queues both here and in Southampton even as Hampshire's planning received another minor alarm. Connor, their leading wicket-taker in the competition, has a back strain and will miss the match with Sussex today as a precaution.

Connor bowled little during the morning session as Leicestershire needed a declaration position with no artificial assistance. The target was a fair one but, with the ball never coming on, far from easy. Terry, however, was in good touch early on, and while he was there, the win was always on.

The ageing Maguire moved him leg-before and then bowled Nicholas off a thick inside edge. Hampshire had needed 117 from the last 20, which seemed plausible; 81 off ten, with the last two recognised batsmen together, did not.



Powerplay: Greenfield hits Anurasi for four on his way to 104 at Hove yesterday

Derbyshire take the laurels

By RICHARD STREETON

DERBY (final day of three): Derbyshire (21pts) beat Lancashire (6) by five wickets

AFTER much pre-hunch contrivance, the clearcut result these teams both desperately wanted to keep alive their outside championship hopes was obtained and the winners' laurels went to Derbyshire, whose approach was always the more positive. In poor light and drizzle Derbyshire reached a target of 291 in 67 overs with two overs to spare.

Adams and Krikken hammered the closing 52 runs in five overs against DeFreitas and Martin as Lancashire looked spectators by dawdling through the final stages. It was Lancashire's third consecutive championship defeat and place money is all that now remains for them.

Barnett and Bowler provided Derbyshire with an ideal foundation as they launched the run chase with a stand of 110 in 41 overs. It was their twelfth

first-wicket century stand together, beating a county record previously shared jointly by Denis Smith and Alderman and Hamer and Lee. Both openers were missed early on in the slips before Lancashire moved permanently onto the defensive. Barnett was caught at long-on, Bowler was leg-before to Allott and it was Azharuddin, who provided the required acceleration.

Azharuddin followed his first-innings 160 not out with an exhilarating 67, with nine fours in 52 balls. Derbyshire had wanted 146 from the last 20 overs and he seemed to have swung the game towards Derbyshire before he was fifth out at 239. Azharuddin failed to beat a throw by Lloyd from long leg and the spectacular and unlikely sixth wicket stand by Adams and Krikken followed.

Earlier there was the tedious sight of Derbyshire using their "declaration" bowlers to assist

Lancashire to get the runs that would enable them to declare. In the past few years this has increasingly become common practice in three-day championship fixtures but to many people it has also become a blot on the game. The cricket becomes unreal and is cheapening to the players involved and makes a mockery of career statistics. The only redeeming feature is the intention behind it to obtain a result; but the authorities cannot approve in their heart of hearts. It will presumably persist, though until there is a return to uncovered pitches, and/or a four-day programme.

Apart from Fairbrother, Lancashire seemed content to wait until it was time for the runs to be fed to them. Speak reached 39 from 42 overs before he gave a return catch. Adams was the first of the irregular bowlers called upon and unexpectedly finished with four wickets.



Greig: stubborn 72

Derbys v Lancs

DERBY (final day of three): Derbyshire (21pts) beat Lancashire (6) by five wickets

Lancashire First Innings 347 for 8 dec (D Lloyd 85, G D Mendis 62)

Derbyshire First Innings 291 for 5 dec (A Azharuddin 67, J Adams 67)

Derbyshire Second Innings 146 for 4 dec (A Azharuddin 67, J Adams 67)

Lancashire Second Innings 146 for 4 dec (A Azharuddin 67, J Adams 67)

Derbyshire Third Innings 146 for 4 dec (A Azharuddin 67, J Adams 67)

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Derbyshire Tenth Innings 146 for 4 dec (A Azharuddin 67, J Adams 67)

Lancashire Tenth Innings 146 for 4 dec (A Azharuddin 67, J Adams 67)

SWIMMING

Moorhouse must rise to challenge in pool of change

FROM CRAIG LORD IN ATHENS

MOST of the men, including two Britons, who won European titles two years ago will line up as contenders to retain their crowns at the £50 million swimming centre here.

But for the women, the pool is a much-changed place. It was appropriate that Bonn should have played host in 1989 to the last big show for the East German swimming programme before unification, as the curtain fell on the 1989 championships, so started the decline in fortunes of the East German women. They had won 97 out of a possible 110 European titles since 1970.

As a consequence of their demise, the women's races at these twentieth European championships present a more diverse book, although the betting is that some eastern Germans, such as Daniela Hunger, could still make a good show.

That their success should be in doubt is a novelty. The theme applies equally to Adrian Moorhouse, of Leeds, who has entered every 100 metres breaststroke championship since 1985 as favourite. His defeat and loss of the world record at the hands of Norbert Kozma, aged 18, from Hungary, at the world championships in January, changed all that.

Rossa also stands between Nick Gillingham, of Birmingham, and the 200 metres breaststroke title. But here, the Briton looks tougher in best than Moorhouse. Gillingham swam

his fastest split 200 metres in training yesterday. He is lean and excited about Friday's challenge.

His mood is prevalent in the rest of the British camp. Among medal hopes are Ian Wilson, ranked second in the 1,500 metres freestyle, Karen Pickering, and the three women backstrokers, Kathy Read, Sharon Page and Joanne Deakins.

Wilson is hoping to close the gap between him and Jörg Hoffmann, the world champion from Germany. Hoffmann was a product of the east. Unlike his female team mates, he has continued to pursue his sporting aims undisturbed by the trauma of a post-unification life.

But then, according to a German team spokesman, he has not been "persecuted" by squads of doctors and officials pursuing the truth behind the east's success. Some girls have been tested 15 times in a year. The pressure is immense.

Meanwhile, Michael Gross has resigned from the German commission looking into the drugs allegations, being unhappy with its organisation. He also said that he did not want to be taken at Athens was "about a third of what was necessary".

Gross, now sitting among the press, is the only swimmer to have retained a European title three times. The only one who can equal that this week is Moorhouse. Gillingham swam

Results, page 35

ROWING

Britons dispense with dash for line

FROM MIKE ROSEWELL, ROWING CORRESPONDENT, VIENNA

STEVE Redgrave and Matthew Pinsent failed to reproduce their Henley and Luzerne spurt for the finish in their first heat in the coxed pairs yesterday. They produced a cruising rate of 26 after powering past their main rivals, France, just before half-way. In spite of easing up, the British produced the fastest qualifying time, although the Soviet Union and Germany had to endure a stronger headwind earlier.

The British coxed four won their heat, finishing at 30. Germany, apparently the British' main opposition, before the championships, produced a faster time, but were involved in a blanket four-crew finish for the three qualifying places, China just being edged out by the United States.

The newly formed double scull of Ronnie Henderson and Guy Pooley, who pulled double in the world at 6th 8th place,

were the only other heavyweight men's crew in action yesterday and produced a performance which gave an outside chance of final qualification. They produced the seventh best time of the 19 crews in spite of Henderson's admission that they failed to achieve their race plan.

Peter Haining, in the toughest heat of the lightweight sculls, admittedly "tested the opposition" to half way before conceding the race to a battle between the present and former world champions, Frans Goebel, of The Netherlands, and Wim Van Belleghem, and Wim Van Belleghem, of Belgium. The British coxed four clocked the fastest time in their event.

The Great Britain open women's crews seemed less suited to the strong headwind than their rivals and final placings seem unlikely.

Results, page 35

Why ITV keeps its powder dry

By PETER BARNARD

THE silly season is a phrase now so entrenched in the lexicon that even sane people, the readers of newspapers as opposed to the writers, know that it means August. Not this August (the hostages, Gorbachev) or last (the Gulf crisis) but an archetypal August.

Television sport has an equivalent, which is the August hiatus. Look at *Grandstand* on Saturday: horse racing (the hardy perennial), hockey and "round nine of the British touring car championship". Round nine, eh?

Odd that this should be the fare on the day when League football came marching out of the summer haze, head high and heart full of hope.

Where was *The Match*? ITV has exclusive rights to the League programme and it transmits live games on Sunday afternoons. But this Sunday *ITV* appeared to be marking the return of football with a profile of Bobby Robson's spell at PSV Eindhoven.

August is a wicked month for television viewing figures. The BBC has a fixed income, so it cuts its cheery transmitter football in August without worrying too much about the size of the audience. That is what public service broadcasting is all about. *ITV* lives by the courtesy of people peddling beer and soap powder, which is perfectly honourable but a touch constricting on the marketing front.

"Hello, Liquid Gold Lager? Would you like a half-time slot on August 17? Start of the football season, you know. We're all very excited here."

Liquid Gold Lager: "Good bye."

The problems attached to getting people to watch television sport on summer afternoons are illustrated by figures from the Broadcasting Audience Research Board (BARB) covering the week of the fourth Test. The Saturday of the match attracted an average of 2.57 million viewers to BBC2 with *Sunday Grandstand* averaging 2.99 million.

These are good figures by the standards of a normal afternoon's viewing but for all

SPORT ON TELEVISION

THE WEEK IN REVIEW

the niche marketing trend in advertising, sheer numbers still matter.

There is another, related, reason for the absence of *The Match*. It's a contract with the Football League, a body that now has now all the cohesion of Yugoslavia, stipulates the showing of 21 matches. Only a fool would waste nearly half of this allowance on a time of year when audience figures are low.

I do not normally publicise my extraordinary powers as a clairvoyant, but people awaiting the return of live football may like to be adjacent to a television set on September 29, a date on which followers who are less than part of the prospect of trying to part near White Hart Lane may find there is more than one way to watch a Manchester United away game.

Meanwhile, the individual *ITV* companies are out and about, with London Weekend, for example, showing highlights of the Arsenal-QPR game (I doubt whether that time), plus the goals from the rest of the first division. That was at 5pm on Sunday.

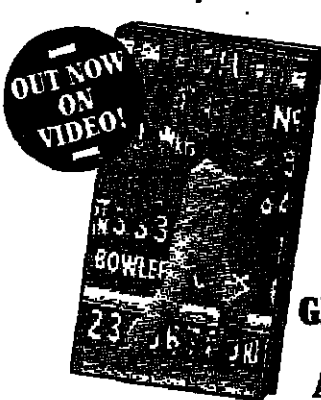
At about the same time on Saturday, the BBC was putting out the results under its *Final Score* banner. Nothing entered into the spirit of the longed August hiatus quite so well as the famous Videprinter sequence, which seemed to be a need of a pre-season warm-up. Even Desmond Lynam, whose penance makes him the Gary Lineker of television presentation, seemed to be thinking of speccing a few grounds to speed up the service.

This had the predictable knock-on effect: late results, late classified results, late League tables. I am told it all started with a number of late kick-offs because of security checks at grounds. Ah, security: football really is back.

Korda's first

Petr Korda, of Czechoslovakia, won the first important singles title of his tennis career when he beat Yugoslavia's Goran Ivanisevic 6-4, 6-2, to win the Volvo International tournament at New Haven, Connecticut, on Sunday.

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Testley Challenge

Sussex v Sri Lankans

HOVE (final day of three): Sussex drew with the Sri Lankans

Sussex First Innings 330 for 9 dec (P Moore 102, M J Latham 61, K I W Wijeyesinghe 44)

Sri Lanka First Innings 255 for 8 dec (S Muralihaman 73, S Jayasuriya 54)

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YORKSHIRE v LEICESTERSHIRE

BOURNEMOUTH (final day of three): Hampshire (21pts) beat Leicestershire (6) by two wickets

Hampshire First Innings 394 for 6 dec (D Lloyd 85, G D Mendis 62)

Leicestershire First Innings 347 for 8 dec (D Lloyd 85, G D Mendis 62)

Hampshire Second Innings 146 for 4 dec (A Azharuddin 67, J Adams 67)

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Leicestershire Tenth Innings 146 for 4 dec (A Azharuddin 67, J Adams 67)

Derbys v Lancs

DERBY (final day of three): Derbyshire (21pts) beat Lancashire (6) by five wickets

Lancashire First Innings 347 for 8 dec (D Lloyd 85, G D Mendis 62)

Derbyshire First Innings 291 for 5 dec (A Azharuddin 67, J Adams 67)

Derbyshire Second Innings 146 for 4 dec (A Azharuddin 67, J Adams 67)

Lancashire Second Innings 146 for 4 dec (A Azharuddin 67, J Adams 67)

Derbyshire Third Innings 146 for 4 dec (A Azharuddin 67, J Adams 67)

Waqar's three-wicket burst not enough

Hick inflicts a blow to title hopes of Surrey

By JACK BAILEY

WORCESTER (final day of three): Worcestershire (24 points) beat Surrey (5) by three wickets

A DAY full of twists and turns, the odds shifting markedly from being in favour of a Worcestershire win to Surrey holding on for a draw and then back to a fine balance, with Surrey even in with a chance, ended with Worcestershire coming home with three wickets and 11 balls to spare.

It was everybody's hero in these parts. Gmeme Hick who saw them to their third win in their last four championship matches, but not before the indomitable Waqar Younis had plucked out the middle order, including Botham for nought, with a spell of three wickets in ten balls.

Hick's 85 from 68 balls, with two sixes and 11 fours, was an innings of majesty to follow his 145 in the first innings. It was an innings only he, near his best, could have played; and although he left with Worcestershire still needing eight runs and Illingworth went to the next ball from Medleycott, Rhodes was there to see Worcestershire through to victory, as was Lampitt.

Lampitt's winning four, amid scenes of high excitement, will have given him as much pleasure as his five wickets in Surrey's second innings. It set up the opportunity for Worcestershire to go for 145 runs from 29 overs.

So well did Dilley bowl at the start of the day that even the more experienced on-lookers were contemplating tea at home. He had Darren Bicknell leg-before offering no stroke to a ball that zipped

into the left-hander. In his next over, Sargeant, the nightwatchman, was dropped at slip by the reliable D'Oliveira, although that did not much matter, for after Lampitt had accounted for Ward, well taken by Botham in the slips, Sargeant's hour-long vigil came to an end in spectacular style.

He slashed at Dilley and the ball flew high and wide over the heads of the three-man slip cordon. But when Moody is one of the slips, nothing is quite high or wide enough. With everyone looking towards the third-man boundary, Moody took off, reaching high with both hands, his 6ft 6in frame stretched to the full, and made a catch which only he, of the players here, could have taken.

At this stage, Surrey were still 34 runs short of making Worcestershire bat again, had lost five wickets and the last of the specialist batsmen were at the wicket. Somehow, Greig and Thorpe survived until lunch. Dilley, retired with morning figures of 10-1-30-2, was having trouble with Illingworth bowling into the rough outside the left-hander's off stump.

Thorpe left, shortly afterwards, caught off bat and pad by Curtis at point, but Greig, moving solidly onward, found an excellent partner in Medleycott, who survived a stumping chance, but helped add a further 108, scoring at four runs an over and stretching Surrey's lead as well as using up valuable time.

Worcestershire had bowled 60 overs in the day before Greig fell to a low catch by Rhodes. Before that, Surrey had scored 205 for four and were 121 in the lead. Greig's

dismissal signalled another twist in the plot. The last four wickets fell for only 23 runs. Just nine overs from Lampitt and Botham were needed to complete the job. The stage was set for Hick — or was it Waqar? In a way, of course, it was for both, and they both lived up to the billing.

□ The Test and County Cricket Board (TCCB) may ask Essex for a formal explanation as to why the pitch at Colchester for their match against Northamptonshire was poorly prepared. Although the county has not had any points deducted, Harry Brad, the TCCB's inspector of pitches, has concurred with the findings of the umpires.

SURREY: First innings 186 (T Botham 5 for 67)

Second innings
D J Bicknell 100 & Dilley 79
R J Alderman 68 & Newport 57
A J Stewart 57 & D O'Connell 57
N F Sargeant 54 & Moody 54
D M Ward 54 & Botham 54
G P Thomas 54 & Curran 54
T A Greig 54 & Rhodes 54
K T Medleycott 54 & D'Oliveira 54
M P Bicknell 54 & Botham 54
Waqar Younis 54 & Newport 54
A J Murphy 54 & Dilley 54
Extras (12, 10, 10, 12) 54
Total 390

FALL OF WICKETS: 1-14, 2-24, 3-147, 4-153, 5-172, 6-228, 7-337, 8-361, 9-361
BOWLING: Dilley 25-5-87-2, Newport 19-5-64-1, Botham 15-3-40-1, Illingworth 29-8-36-1, Lampitt 18-4-70-5, Hick 10-1-30-2, D'Oliveira 4-2-8-0

WORCESTERSHIRE: First innings 401 for 9 dec (G Hick 145, T S Curran 88, T Botham 81, Waqar Younis 41 for 78, M P Bicknell 4 for 104)
Second innings
T S Curran 88 & M P Bicknell 88
P Burt 88 & Sargeant 88
G A Hick 145 & Greig 88
T M Moody 88 & Waqar 88
B D'Oliveira 88 & Ward 88
I T Botham 88 & Waqar 88
R J Alderman 88 & Dilley 88
K T Medleycott 88 & Sargeant 88
S R Lampitt 88 & Dilley 88
Extras (8, 5, 10, 1) 88
Total 455
FALL OF WICKETS: 1-13, 2-35, 3-82, 4-152, 5-137, 6-137
BOWLING: Waqar Younis 14-3-63-3, M P Bicknell 11-3-52-2, Medleycott 8-1-5-0-2
Umpires: B D'Oliveira and D O'Connell

S Africa faces Cup deadline

By ALAN LEE, CRICKET CORRESPONDENT

THE protracted issue of South Africa's participation in cricket's World Cup early next year remains unresolved following a weekend meeting of the organising committee in Melbourne. A compromise, however, may see the World Cup winners flying directly to South Africa for a series of one-day internationals.

Officially, the outcome of

the latest meeting is simply a deadline, set for September 30, beyond which it will no longer be thought feasible for South Africa to apply to play in the Cup. The response from Ali Bacher, chief executive of the new United Cricket Board of South Africa, was diplomatically non-committal, leaving the saga stagnating.

The background to what has

been a foot-dragging non-story, however, is intriguingly complex. It involves the position of West Indies, who are yet to be sold on South Africa's readmission, and the position of Colin Cowdrey, chairman of the International Cricket Council (ICC).

Cowdrey played a pivotal role in gaining the necessary measure of support for South Africa's international return but was unable to convince West Indies to vote in favour. They eventually abstained and are believed to be against their entry into the Cup.

South Africa, through the tireless Bacher, are doing thorough homework and will submit any application if they discover it would not have unanimous support, including among their own people. Bacher said yesterday: "Membership of the ICC has given us unprecedented medium and long-term opportunities. We are mindful that in the short term we must do nothing that will hamper this."

Cowdrey, having threatened to use his "chairman's prerogative" to block a South African application, is now willing to be more conciliatory. But he, like the West Indians, would assuredly be grateful for a compromise, and the idea of a challenge series between South Africa and the World Cup winners would seem to have merit.



TREVOR Steven, left, regards his task with Marseilles as providing a challenge for Jean-Pierre Papin and Abedi Pele. The £4.5 million newcomer said after flying in from Glasgow following his departure from Rangers: "My job will be to give them the ball in goal-scoring situations. I do my job for the team. I'm not a showman."

Steven was met by Chris Waddle, his fellow-England international, who also hails from the northeast of England. Waddle is from Gateshead and Steven, who asked for a villa

next to Waddle's in Provence to help him settle in, is from Berwick on the Scottish border. "At last I'm going to have someone who understands me," Waddle said.

Soviet team may miss world championships

From DAVID POWELL, ATHLETICS CORRESPONDENT, TOKYO

THE events in the Soviet Union could have an immediate effect on international sport. A leading Soviet sports official said yesterday that he was concerned that their 99 competitors expecting to take part in the quadrennial world athletics championships, which begin here on Saturday, might not be able to do so.

Vadim Zelichenov, the general secretary of the Soviet Union Athletic Federation, said he was especially concerned about those trying to get from Moscow.

"I am afraid they will close the airports and the team will not be allowed to fly to Japan," he said. "It would be a pity if they could not come. They are professionals who have trained all season for this event."

Ninety-five of the squad

have been training in Vladivostok and are due to fly to Japan tomorrow. Four others, including the Soviet Union's best-known athlete, Sergey Bubka, world record-holder in the pole vault, are in Moscow. Vladivostok is some 600 miles from Tokyo, across the Nihon-kai sea.

Zelichenov who, together with the team manager, Igor Ter-Ovanesyan, is already in Tokyo, said he was especially concerned about those trying to get from Moscow.

Franco Fava, the International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF) spokesman, said that Zelichenov had tried to contact the Soviet federation in Moscow yesterday but had been unsuccessful. Fava said that it was likely that this would become an urgent matter for

the biennial two-day IAAF congress, beginning today.

Primo Nebiolo, the IAAF president, Ter-Ovanesyan and Yutaka Inoue, the Japanese culture minister, met last night to discuss the possibility of sending in a charter flight to bring out the athletes.

"We do not know if this will be possible," Fava said.

A world championships without the Soviet Union would devalue gold medals in many disciplines, especially the men's field events, the women's middle distance races and the walks.

Apart from Bubka, the Soviet Union has strong favourites in the hammer (Igor Astapkovich), the 20 kilometres walk (Mikhail Shchennikov), the 1,500 metres (Natalya Artyomova), the 100 metres hurdles (Lyudmila Narzhilenko) and in the shot (Natalya Lisovskaya).

Lisovskaya is another of the four athletes stranded in Moscow. But there is no doubt Bubka would be the greatest loss. He is one of only four athletes with the chance to win a third successive world title and only two weeks ago he became the first man to clear 20ft outdoors, taking the world record to 6.10 metres.

News is awaited on touring team

By OUR SPORTS STAFF

AN ENGLISH women's football team may be involved in the upheaval in the Soviet Union, where they are playing in a tournament. Red Star Southampton departed for Moscow last week, as guests of Spartak Moscow, the organisers of a competition which entails playing different teams in various parts of the Soviet Union.

Southampton Red Star are scheduled to host a return match next month, but that was the last thing on the mind of Linda Whitehead, secretary of the Women's Football

Association, as she awaited news of the team yesterday.

The Soviet Union cycling team is to continue at the world championships in Stuttgart this week, confirmed by Valeri Sysoev, president of the national federation, while the Soviet swimmers are to stay in Athens to continue in the European championships.

The England men's basketball team are now unsure as to whether they will be flying out to the Soviet Union for their match on the European championship semi-final round on November 13.

Also concerned are the families of a party of 22 staff and pupils from Tonbridge School who are on a three-match rugby tour, due to end tomorrow, in the Moscow area.



Bubka: still in Moscow

Spurs must be on best behaviour

By STUART JONES, FOOTBALL CORRESPONDENT

TOTTENHAM Hotspur have been issued two stern warnings on the eve of departure for their European Cup Winners' Cup tie against Sparkasse Stockerau. Peter Shreeves, the manager, has ordered them to respect the opposition, although they are members of the Austrian second division, and to maintain their discipline.

Shreeves recalled yesterday that the last time he took the club into Europe, they finished with only ten men and were eliminated. Perryman, usually the most orderly of competitors, was sent off during the goalless draw against Real Madrid and "there could be no complaints about the decision". But even those guilty of comparatively trivial offences can still be punished, as Shreeves is fully aware. Two of his players were cautioned for failing to retreat ten yards, for instance, during the tournament in Bari a week ago.

Tottenham will be set the perfect example by Liner, who has "had more kicks and bruises than anyone but has learned not to react". The composure of others in the potential line-up, such as Stewart and Van den Hauwe, is not so reliable.

Second division split

THE divisions in the second division over the response to the breakaway Premier League showed no sign of abating yesterday (Peter Ball writes). While Cambridge United pinned their colours to the Sunderland plan to isolate the Premier League clubs, the Millwall chairman, Reg Burr, launched a scathing attack on the idea.

An embarrassment for Sir Bert Millichip, the chairman of the Football Association, is that his own club, West Bromwich Albion, has also signed Sunderland's declaration.

Millwall do not believe the Sunderland scheme is a cred-

ible one. "I'm appalled," Burr said. "Promotion and relegation are the lifeblood of football. The plan would isolate those teams that make up the second division from any further progress."

□ The England and Tottenham Hotspur player Paul Gascoigne was yesterday charged with assaulting two men in a brawl outside a Newcastle restaurant in July.

Having watched a video of their triumph in the Austrian Cup final, he describes Stockerau as "a decent outfit who play with a sweeper and with a lot of flair and imagination". Since he can select only four foreigners, Shreeves is expected to omit Nayim again. Stewart, the creator of two of their three goals against Southampton, will be retained. Shreeves is optimistic that the converted midfielder will soon accept a new contract, which was offered on Sunday and "put on ice" during the visit to Vienna.

Shreeves is optimistic that the converted midfielder will soon accept a new contract, which was offered on Sunday and "put on ice" during the visit to Vienna.

Pregnant pause

Fiona Smith, the former England badminton No 1, will return to competitive play in the Puma Wimbledon tournament next month, determined to secure a place in the team for the Barcelona Olympics.

Defection throws Olympic talks into reverse

From DAVID MILLER IN SEOUL

COMMENT

AN UNPREDICTABLE lot the North Koreans. A week ago I spent four days vainly waiting in Peking for a visa, which the Koreans had promised, to visit this politically sensitive land. There is no reason, of course, why I should be top of their list for cocktails, but you would suppose they had serious cause to talk to their southern brothers about a joint team for the Olympic Games in Barcelona. Indeed they do, but that did not stop them suddenly pulling out of a meeting scheduled last weekend for the Panmunjom border point to discuss details in a five-8-side conversation. I had hoped to report that event, this time from south of the border. The kick-off has been postponed

indefinitely, however. The problem, it seems, arose when the captain of the North Korean judo team, Chung Su Lee, well practised at the art of jump-and-roll, did exactly that from a train following a competition in Paris. He then said he wanted to play for the other side. North Korea regard this as so upsetting that they have gone into a huff, retired indoors, and will not speak.

This is doubly unfortunate. First, the principle of a joint Olympic team was agreed and signed in October last year following the Asian Games, in which South Korea finished second in the medal table behind China and North Korea fourth behind Japan. The combined sporting strength of

the Korean people will be one of the most powerful there is.

Second, if there remains a social situation in which some North Koreans wish to move south, the sooner there are single teams then the less incentive there will be, at least for sports competitors, to take this path. At 34, Chung Su Lee, an Asian Games silver medal winner last year in Peking, has a limited international future, for either side.

Man Lip Choy, vice-president and secretary-general of the South Korean Olympic committee, said yesterday: "We have neither any knowledge of Lee's intention nor, at this stage, of events has been a total surprise to us."

The discussions at Panmunjom, the divided village at the border no man's land, was to have been on selection prin-

ciples for next year and on which sport would remain separate entries for Barcelona. North Korea are said to want a 50-50 decision, as for example in the recent Fifa junior football world cup in Portugal, in which Korea reached the last eight with a squad containing nine players from each country.

In some Olympic sports involving a qualifying competition, it may be necessary for practical reasons to retain separate entry.

For individual events, however, South Korea intend to stand on duty either side of the neutral zone, the view northwards across the Bridge of No Return then being a weed-covered overgrown tract.

Last year, spectators from the two countries sat side by side in Peking, cheering each other's competitors and singing the same song. Now

However, a meeting of North and South prime ministers is scheduled for Pyongyang, the northern capital, on August 27, and the result of that may have a bearing on the sports issue.

The present stalling seems unnecessary when, in addition to the football in Portugal, a joint team took part in the table tennis world championship in Tokyo in the spring.

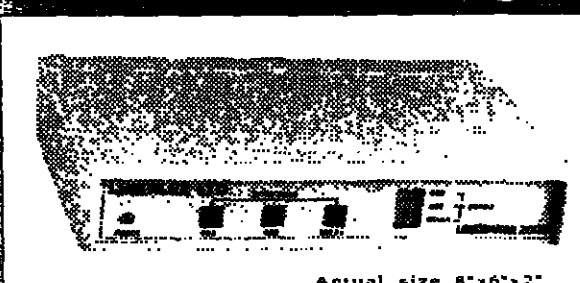
So much has happened in six years since I was last at Panmunjom, where guards stand on duty either side of the neutral zone, the view northwards across the Bridge of No Return then being a weed-covered overgrown tract.

Last year, spectators from the two countries sat side by side in Peking, cheering each other's competitors and singing the same song. Now

competitors and officials travel back and forth the 150 miles between the capitals; an exchange of football matches is well established. The lights were green. A single judo player has now thrown the currents into confusion.

My own experience is baffling. Invited by the international table tennis federation's president, Ichiro Oginuma, of Japan, to attend a tournament in Pyongyang, telex messages confirming my visa request and informing my hotel reservation, had been received. Then, nothing. I had hoped to write about North Korea's preparation for the third Asian Winter Games in 1995 at San Ji Yong, north of Pyongyang. As I said, a strange lot.

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